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439 Gila. The Mexicanization of southern Papagueria can be laid largely to these winter trading trips. However, the people with whom trade was carried on were the Mexican Papago and the method was essentially Indian.

Trade with the Yuma was less frequent but of old standing. In 1698, while Kino was at Kuitatk, an old woman trudged into town from the west, with a pack on her back containing snails and little shells from the sea which she herself had brought from there.[1] She had probably been close to Yuma territory.

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LABOR

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465 Often what the Papago had to exchange was not goods but labor. Within the geographic unit, there was constant need for assistance in planting, harvesting, housebuilding, ditch digging, spinning, arrow making. Any individuals available gave their labor and their household was repaid in labor, goods or, sometimes, goodwill. But if no relatives were available, neighbors would be called on. The pay for such labor was return labor when it was needed and the meals eaten while working. But the meals were a very slight expense for "In old days people never ate much." For what was needed, there was abundance.

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465 Harvest was in a class by itself for, at this time, the workers were often paid in produce. To invite relatives to help at harvest was a favor to them and families invited the distant ones seriatim in different years. Such an invitation meant a close tie and the family sometimes went into council as to who should receive it. The group in App. I, 5, took turns in inviting the wife's relatives and the husband's. As pay, they asked them to help themselves but the amount they took would be regulated by what they thought they could repay. One informant mentioned two sacks of wheat out of ten or "a pile" of unhusked corn or beans about three feet in diameter (21).

With the present scattering of Papago residence, relatives are not always available and neighbors are invited. No bargain is made but they are paid, as in trade, with whatever the giver can afford. "But those who are stingy can't get any one to work for them. I always have lots of help because I give a big pile of melons or a sack of wheat" (2).

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241 It was on this same basis that the Papago worked for other people and, since their most constant employers were the Pima, we may assume that the pay was calculated in the same way. The River

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[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.

People, before their water failed, had such large and constant crops that one who wished could pay in produce to have all his heavy work done and could still have plenty to live on. Many of them had relatives in the neighboring Papago village groups of Archie, Kuhatk and Perigua and, as far back as tradition goes they have called on them to help with the work. But in the middle eighties, Pima agriculture grew to large commercial proportions, when thousands of bushels of wheat were sold to passing American pioneers. The Pima, with their hands full, sent for more and more Papago workers until it became the regular thing for the northern villages to be almost depopulated at wheat cutting time and for the roads to be filled with covered wagons going to Pima country. Each Papago family traveled and worked together and each had its regular employers, whose attitude was that of relatives or feudal protectors.

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The trek to the Gila began in May, the time for cutting winter wheat. This was also the end of the dry season when the Papago were almost out of food and it meant, for some families, release from starvation diet. The work lasted about three weeks with a little time more for trade and for cutting basketry willow which did not grow in the desert country. The pay, in wheat, settled down to about two sacks to the acre. The workers came home in July to have their rain ceremony and do their own planting and sometimes they returned before winter to plant for the Pima, to harvest and to pick cotton.

With the failure of the water, after 1774, Pima agriculture lessened and, in some districts, stopped. This had its repercussion on the Papago and helped in turning the northern villages toward cattle raising, which they had left largely to the south. But the habit was very strong and, though cotton raising has ceased and wheat has much lessened, many families still make the yearly journey.

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The southern villages turned to the Altar valley much as the northern ones did to the Gila, with the difference that the relationships here were not so close. Apache raids and White influence broke up the Mexican Papago organization so that the employer was usually a stranger and not a relative. Nevertheless families formed permanent relationships and would go every year to camp outside the same town and work for the same people. The work was harvesting and threshing beans, harvesting and drying squash corn and peppers. The pay was a share of the produce. But there were also a few chances for range riding, work with skins and casual day labor for which the pay was money. Sometimes a family would camp outside a Mexican town, getting work when it could, otherwise hunting and making pots and peddling the product. All these

464 contacts of the southern villages made for more flexibility and disorganization than there was in the north.

CEREMONIAL PAYMENTS

431 796 The Papago had one ceremony which involved large payments between villages. Ostensibly they were for ceremonial services which brought blessing and rain but they performed, as well, two very practical functions. One was that the village making the payments could invest its harvest on a much wider scale than that permitted by family gifts and the other, that gift relationships were cemented with what might be called foreigners: the members of another village and even of another dialect group. The ceremony was the dance of greeting and blessing which preceded intervillage games.

431 526 796 [533 535] [777] Games were played between two village units or groups of units, the same opponents challenging each other alternately, year after year. The time chosen was autumn, when the crops were in and when there was not only leisure but goods for gifts and gambling. The challenging village always "sang for" its opponent, either a rudimentary operetta, in which costumed dancers performed to singing, or a series of songs which glorified the important residents of the host village. Songs of both kinds brought good luck which, according to Papago ideas of reciprocity, should be paid for.

431 796 When a village had been challenged and had paid it was etiquette for it to issue the challenge next year and be paid in turn. After that, either village was at liberty to pick out a new opponent but, as a rule, they continued together over a long period and established definite gift relationships. But occasionally, a village which had had a poor harvest would strike out in a new direction and sing for somebody "rich". Russell[1] mentions the Papago (probably the northern villages) singing regularly for the Pima, and some Papagos from Somerton (Sand Papagos?) came yearly in regalia, marched and danced with rattles for the Yuma.[2] But the wealthy agriculturists were too busy with their own affairs to need this form of exchange and the visits were seldom returned.

The visiting party arrived a day early, camped outside the host village and sent in a costumed messenger with a formal challenge to games. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks, each representing a household head in the visiting party, who would expect a gift. If the household head could not come, some younger male represented him, but gifts were made only to households, not individuals.

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[1] Russell p. 171.

[2] Gifford, 1933, p. 262.

Then the spider sang to me: 159x 787

Gray spider
Magic making
At the cave entrance hanging
Do not think I shall fall.
Twice I go up and down
And I return again
Therefore I am hanging, hanging here.

Our men went to hunt deer on the hills, because those summer days are 159x
when the does are big with young and taste sweet. Or else they worked in 224
our field. There were so many men that we girls did not have to help weed 241
the corn. But we took cactus syrup out to the field, mixed with water, that the men might drink it while they knelt on the hot earth, pulling a mesquite stick to and fro to cut off the weeds. They were going to be medicine men, all three of our husbands, and perhaps they already had visions, but they worked like other men. Ah, that was a clever household! Three medicine men and one man-woman.

We girls used to spend all day with that man-woman, Shining Evening. 159x
She went off with us to gather plants and she could carry more than any 838
of us and dig longer. She ground corn with us, all taking turns at my mother-in-law's grinding slab.

Our husbands used to tease us girls. "How do we know these children running around the house belong to us! We are away in the mountains all the time and in the fields. It is Shining Evening who is with the women." Then they would laugh and say to the babies: "Run along! Over there is your daddy!" When they got us alone they would say: "Is he really all right?" We said: "Yes, Just like a woman. We have forgotten he is a man."

When the summer was over and the pond dried up Where the Water 159x
Whirls Around, we took our babies and went moving over the hills, follow- 221
ing the water. Over the mountains where you call it Mexico, there were 464
more of our people who had water ditches in their fields. We worked for them and they gave us food. With many other villages we went, as if to war, because of the Apaches. We sent word all around with little sticks, ten or twelve, so that people might count them and know the day when we were going. Then we started out, the children and the bedding and a small grinding stone on a horse, and we women running beside with our carrying nets, with all the pots, and perhaps the baby on top. Far up in the hills, our husbands went running with their bows and arrows, looking for deer, and sometimes they met us with loads of meat on their backs.

x 159 838 484 At night we camped and my mother-in-law cooked a big pot of gruel. Next day I carried it among my pots so we could stop and eat it at midday. I used to be so hot and thirsty on that journey. Once, running at night, because it was too hot to travel in the day, I caught my foot in a rat's nest. Down I fell and broke all the pottery. My husband said: "Crazy one!" But Shining Evening was good to me on those trips. She was stronger than we women and when I was tired she carried my baby for me. No man could do that; it would not be right. Shining Evening was a great help.

x 159 222 The bean harvest of those Mexicans would be over when we arrived, and they let us go through their fields picking up the gleanings. We girls and our husbands worked, and my mother- and father-in-law went to and fro on our one horse taking the gleanings to a storage place in the mountains.

x 159 464 After that we worked for those Mexicans. We ground wheat and we carried wood and water. The men went up into the hills and hacked off the century plants and roasted them in pits to sell. And there they hunted, and brought down deer and hides to sell to those Mexicans. We women stayed at the foot of the hills and dug clay for pottery. Then my mother-in-law made pots, for she was clever. We young girls sat polishing them all day with little smooth stones. Oh, beautiful pots we made and earned our food! Shining Evening made pots, too, but for whiskey. She would sit there and laugh and say: "Here are my hands and here the clay. I can have what I want. Give me a bottle of whiskey."

X x 159 464 221 Sometimes in the winter we went north to cut wheat for the River People and it was there that I dropped my second baby in a wheat field. And once my husband and I left the babies at home and went alone to harvest figs for the Mexicans. It was in the middle of summer but there were many people at home to work, so we got on our one horse and said: "Look! We will go to earn something for you."

x 159 We had never been before without the other Desert People, so we kept a good watch for the Apaches. It was a two day journey and my husband did not sleep all night. We only dismounted for a little while and then I slept while he watched, awake with his arrow strung. But nothing happened until we were coming home.

We passed a flat place where there was a prickly pear growing. I said: "I'm going to eat some." So my husband lifted me off the horse. "Hurry up and pick some," he said. We had a basket hanging on the saddle. I picked the fruit and my man cleaned it and we filled that basket. Then we sat down to eat.

Look, the sun was just coming up. I was facing east and I looked up x 159 sent for that second wife and she came, but he did not want her. He used to scratch her arms as she sat beside him. Then he would stretch out his arms and call for me. In the month of giant cactus ripening, he died.

His brother came to tell me. I cried. I used to go behind a hill, away from the house, and cry half the day. He almost took me with him. Does this happen to the Whites? I kept thinking at night that the door would open and he would take me by the hand. I would cry out. My new husband said: "What is wrong? You always cry." I told him. "He comes and pulls me up." Next day, my husband said nothing. He got on a horse and rode far off there to the grave. He said: "Leave her alone. It's your own fault. If you come for her again, I'll dig you up and burn your bones." After that, the dead was quiet.

X

I came to that old man at watermelon time. When the acorns were ripe I was pregnant, and next year, when they were baking cactus buds, I had a son. I had no trouble with my children by this man. Both sons they were and both grew up. Perhaps, it was because they did not come so fast. The man was old. There were three years between them.

Standing Rock was a nice place under the hill slope, with a big rock standing out like an eagle's beak just above us. There was a pond there for my husband's horses to drink; the yucca that we use for our baskets grew up on the hill; and there was good clay for pots. In the winter, when the horse pond dried up, we did not go to Mexico as my first husband's family did. We went to Tucson and worked for the white people. ● [441]

In Tucson, we had a shack with mattresses in it. We could go to stores and buy chili and salt to eat with our food. And white flour that we did not have to grind. But I have never liked white flour. I feel sick and weak when I eat it. Now that I am old, I cry to my grandchildren: "Get me corn meal flour. Or flour from the cactus seeds. Then I shall eat again."

x 159 [illegible] I had strange dreams in Tucson. Once when we were there, my husband killed a jackrabbit and brought it to me to cook. I said: "Go get some chili for me to cook it with." So he went away and then I heard someone walking round the house. I began to feel dizzy and sick in the heart. I picked up the scissors to defend myself. But the steps went away. I stuck the scissors in the thatch. Then I cooked the rabbit and we had supper.

But at night, in my dreams, the rabbit came to me. It was a little girl. It showed me its ripped skin and said: "Why did you do this to me? Don't you know it is I that make you sick?" I felt crazy.

x 159 [illegible] The next day my husband found a medicine man come in from the desert to sell acorns. That medicine man sang and fanned me. "It is dan-

into districts, and the boundaries were fenced; elections were held. Since 1937 175
the Papago Tribal Council has been meeting regularly and handling much of 657
the business of the tribe, with suggestions and guidance from the Agency. The Council still does not have the support of all the Papago, but there is more co-operation now between the people and the federal government, as represented by the Agency, than ever before.

While tribal organization was being changed, the Roman Catholic church 175
reorganized its missions. Instead of one priest for the whole Reservation, there 797
are now six, with two at San Xavier. Sisters came to teach. There is a concerted, yet slow and cautious, effort to bring the Sonora Catholic Papago into the fold of the church and to wean them from some of the older practices, such as the Indian marriage customs. On the surface these efforts seem to be partially successful, but such endeavors take time. In 1943 the Presbyterian missions also began a reorganization.

With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women 175
began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, 464
ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching. If the people become thoroughly acclimated to wage labor and then suddenly face an economic depression, the effects may be tragic for them as for other minority groups.

With all these forces at work on the Reservation it might well be asked: 181
What is left of Papago culture? A few members of the tribe have become Americanized, but the majority are still very much Papago. The old culture is strong, although it seems on the surface to have changed a great deal. Many of the old customs and beliefs still dominate the peoples' lives today, not because the Papago want to reject new things but just because, to them, the old way is "the way to do things."

Yet there is no rigidity in the Papago adherence to their old ways. Adaptability seems to be a fundamental part of Papago character; indeed, existence in the desert, with its extremes of heat and cold, drought and flood, want and plenty, requires adaptability. From their first contacts with white men, the Desert People began to take from white culture what appealed to them. The white men came as allies, not as conquerors, and there was no catastrophic conflict. The Papago were always fairly secure in the ownership of their land, and no overwhelming force was exerted on them to change their ways, hence there was no reason to close in upon themselves as did the Pueblo and the Yaqui Indians. Thus the Papago were able, without deep emotional conflicts, to add to their own culture many of the values and traits of a foreign way of life. In the following chapters we shall see what the results have been.

total Papago income, but farming furnishes basic subsistence for over three- 434
quarters of the families on the Reservation. It is now believed that cattle will 231
never be fundamental in Papago economy but should be regarded as a sup- 241
plement to the real basis of Reservation life—farming.

Other sources of income are few. About 6 per cent of tribal income (includ- 434
ing subsistence) is derived from firewood and fenceposts cut from mesquite. 313
There are known small deposits of gold, silver, lead, and manganese on the 316
Reservation, but they are in the hands of whites and offer nothing but a little employment to Indians, as the Papago have only surface rights to their land, and any mineral rights belong to the federal government. (Any miner may acquire rights on payment of rental of the land and fees for destruction of property.) This is a sore point with the Papago, since they are the only Indians who do not have rights to minerals under their lands.[4]

Handicrafts furnish a small part of tribal income—about 3 per cent. The 434
bulk of this income comes from the sale of baskets and pottery[5] through the 285
tribal Arts and Crafts Board, which was established under the auspices of the federal Indian Arts and Crafts Board to provide a market for Papago handiwork. Papago baskets, made of yucca, willow, bear grass, and devil's-claw, are of the close-coil type; decorative design in black and white, with occasional green or red, is simple but often strikingly beautiful in its sharp contrasts. Through assisting the Papago to improve their work and get better prices for it, the Arts and Crafts Board should help to raise Reservation income. It should also give the Desert People experience in co-operative business which may serve as a foundation for ventures in other fields.

There are a few small Papago business enterprises on the Reservation, most 434
of them trading posts, but returns from these stores are a minute fraction of [441]
tribal income. An increasing share of Papago income is from paid labor. As 464
previously stated, for generations the Desert People tided themselves over lean years by going to Mexico or to the Pima country to work for ranchers or farmers, who paid them in food and seed. Now, however, wage work (and cattle sales) are shifting Papago economy from a barter to a cash basis. Em-

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[4] The reasons for this anomalous situation are partly political. Under the Gadsden Purchase Treaty of 1854, the United States agreed to respect the laws and customs prevailing in the area under Mexican rule. Since Spanish days, mineral rights had belonged to the crown or the state. For two years (1932–34) Papago lands were withdrawn from mineral entry and claim, but renewal of the treaty provisions was made a part of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Papago resentment is understandable, since some other Indian tribes derive substantial income from mineral leases. Known deposits on the Reservation are small, but there is always the chance of discoveries, since great copper deposits are being worked near by.

[5] The Papago also make horsehair ropes, wooden spoons, and other articles, chiefly for their own use.

[Text continues on p. 37-Analyst]

ployers are the mining companies (chiefly at Ajo west of the Reservation), 434
surrounding ranchers, and the foremen of the cotton fields along the Salt, 464
Gila, and Santa Cruz rivers. Work in the cotton fields is largely on a family basis, but individuals work in the mines and in households in near-by cities. During the war there was an increasing demand for Papago labor, and some went to distant points to work in factories of all kinds. The government is also an employer: the Agency hires over a hundred Papago as clerks, bus-drivers, school housekeepers, range riders, and in other capacities, chiefly as unskilled laborers.

Even with the addition of wages, Papago income is very low. In 1940, before 434
war wages had swollen the total, the average family income (including estimated 511
value of products used by the family) was about $530 per year, but this does not present a true picture, for two-thirds of the families had incomes of only $265 or less. The more prosperous third, whose incomes brought up the average, were those with cattle, permanent jobs, or private business enterprises, most of whom lived in the southern and eastern districts. In 1943, war jobs, military allotments and extensive cattle sales forced by the drought brought average family income up to about $1,200, but this is obviously a situation unlikely to be duplicated.[6]

THE FUTURE OF PAPAGO ECONOMY

We have seen that the Papago live in a rural peasant economy which has 439
only recently shifted to a cash basis. Money is increasingly important to the 441
Desert People because they no longer produce most of their own food and clothing. A recent study of Papago food habits showed that over half the food used in the period of the study was purchased.[7] Even beef is often sold, and meat is bought.

Many things are imported which could be produced locally. There is a flour mill on the Reservation, but all flour sold at trading posts is imported. Though cattle-raising is the chief Papago cash industry, all the meat sold in two of the three Reservation stores handling this product is imported.

Almost all business on the Reservation is in non-Indian hands. A recent report states: "It is estimated that of every $100 that is received by the Papago, some $80 goes immediately into the hands of businessmen off the reservations. Not only does $90 out of every $100 received from the export of produce, cattle,

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[6] It is interesting to note that in this year the Papago *family* income was not much above the average *per capita* income for the country as a whole, $1,031 (Charles F. Schwartz, "State Income Payments in 1943," Table 1). For the state of Arizona, per capita income was $865.

[7] Emma Reh, "An Economic Study of the Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona" (MS).

THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended
family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation 596
tion has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The 614
several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a 616
Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but 522
jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises 517
whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and 592
each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this 462
difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know 462
how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The 439
men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by 596
handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly 596
the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to 464
the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

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[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

596 464 seldom asked to do so, but neglect of this obligation soon becomes known, and the offender is severely censured by persons outside the household.

423 Just as each family member does his share toward maintaining the group, so each has an interest in the means of subsistence. As previously noted, all
428 land belongs to the tribe, and families are allowed to use as much as they need
596 on assignment by the village or district council. Fields ordinarily continue to be used by the same family after the death of its head. All the sons inherit equally, sometimes without division. Thus, ideally, all family members, even though they are not living with the group, are entitled to use these fields as needed, but nowadays there are occasional difficulties when absent members wish to return to the land.

422 Cattle and horses are individually owned, although those belonging to various members of the family are usually herded together. Each family has
428 its own brand, some small difference in the mark designating individual ownership. The head of the house may give certain animals to each of his children as they grow up, but on his death the main herd usually goes to the new head of the house unless other arrangements had been made. The tribal code of laws has provisions for wills after the white fashion, and a dispute over inheritance can be brought before the tribal court if no amicable settlement can be made otherwise.

231 The strong attachment of the Papago to their fields doubtless dates from
868 tribal prehistory, but cattle and horses have also become highly important since
[181] their acquisition from whites. The active life of many a Papago man centers in his horses and cattle, and they are the first interest of all little boys. In early childhood a boy begins to swing a rope and lasso stumps, piles of bedding, chickens, and dogs. He runs at a gallop, patting himself as he would a horse, or seizes a stick and canters off. Later he learns to ride, drive the horses to water, and take the reins of the family wagon. He breathes in the excitement of roping and throwing and learns to distinguish brands. Very early he knows which animals in the family herd belong to him, and he sells a steer in his turn when the family needs money. Finally, he is allowed to take part in roundups, to sleep out with the men, to listen to stories around the campfire under the clear stars. He is particularly proud of his horses; he knows that people will regard him with respect because he owns them.

231 Horses, rather than cattle, are the prestige animals. They are often of little economic value, at least in the numbers now owned by the Papago, for many more are kept than can be used in farm and range work, and a recent epidemic of dourine has prevented the sale of horses for any use but slaughter. A Papago does not ordinarily know exactly how many head of cattle he has, but he

WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

464 Most of the hundred-odd Papago who work for the Agency live with their families in Sells, although they often keep homes and fields in their own villages. These employees come mainly from the eastern districts and belong to the *ḳoḳololoti* and *totoḳöwany* dialect groups, which have had longer contacts with whites than the others on the Reservation. They are predominantly Presbyterian, but there are also a few Catholics and non-Christians.

In lean years the steady wages offered by the Agency and the wider possibilities for recreation drew Papago to Sells. However, occasionally social problems arise. Girls who have gone to the Agency town have been known to get into trouble, and on one occasion within the last few years a number of girls were rounded up by the Indians and quietly sent back to their own villages. Papago children who have been brought up in Sells seem more aggressive and American in their behavior than others, and often the Papago say that the mischievous pranks and more serious escapades of school children "always start in Sells." [578] Then, too, some of the adults who work for the government are scorned by other Papago as "Agency Indians" and thus are separated from their own people, on the one hand, and from the white staff members, on the other.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE TRIBE GOVERNS ITSELF

619 The Papago tribe as a political unit has existed for less than ten years. Before that time, each village handled its own affairs, and related villages co-operated economically and socially, but there was no tribal government as such.

619 575 There were, however, attempts to bring together leaders from the various villages and dialect groups. For some years before the establishment of the Reservation, some of the headmen and other leaders felt the need of government help in getting water developments, schools, and hospitals. They organized the Good Government League, which met regularly to discuss ways and means of attaining these ends and to draw up petitions for assistance. Characteristically, the group was loosely organized and it was completely Papago. A storekeeper lent the group a building in which to meet in bad weather, and government employees addressed them on request; but apparently no whites were responsible for the organization or its activities.

648 578 575 Opposition to the League developed among some of the old headmen and certain of the more conservative communities. After the establishment of the Reservation the feeling increased because, it was alleged, a small group of League members "ran the Agency" and "the superintendent always called

of making a ridiculous reply as it is to reserve. The youth will explain to 563
another Papago that he knew what the white was saying, but, unsure of his 883
ability to answer in good English, he just kept quiet. 571

As a rule, resident whites treat the Indians with friendliness strongly tinged 563
with caution.[8] They respect the Papago and perhaps like certain individuals, 186
but they know that Indians are sensitive in ways unpredictable to whites. The Papago largely reciprocate these attitudes. With rare exceptions, neither group seeks association with the other outside of business hours. The Indians admit that the white man has a peculiar magic which results in economic wealth. and this they frankly covet. But few would care to live with whites or even in their manner. To them, the Desert People remain "the people."

All teen-age Papago make more frequent trips off the Reservation than 883
do their younger brothers and sisters. Boys go whenever they can be spared at 484
home and can find means of transportation; girls are equally interested but must wait on the convenience of some man of the family. A young person of a western district probably has at least one relative who works in the mine at Ajo and lives there with his family; visits to these relatives are great occasions. The relatives in town live in frame houses or in shacks pieced together out of scrap iron, but even the poorest dwellings are likely to have more furnishings than western Reservation homes. Curtains, bedspreads, and tablecloths are in ordinary use, and all cooking is done indoors. With more leisure and cash, town dwellers go to the movies and buy store food, good clothes, and bootleg liquor. These are momentous matters for the Reservation youngsters, and they
are quick to imitate their town kinfolk. Girls readily adopt the town styles of [291]
dress, but boys can always be recognized as Reservation Indians by their Stetson hats, Levis, and cowboy boots. Clothing, amusements, and the easier living 883
are powerful incentives for young Papago to go and do likewise, i.e., get a job 464
in town.

A great many youth have been accustomed from childhood to going with their families to work in the cotton fields, but late adolescence bring opportunities for work away from home. Older girls who have more than a smattering of English can get jobs as housemaids in Tucson or Phoenix, and many young girls look forward to this opportunity to live independently for a little while before marriage. A wider variety of work is open to boys. With the increased demand for labor during the war, some Baboquivari lads of sixteen to eighteen left the Reservation for several weeks or months to work on railroads or ranches. Since the Papago are known as good workers, they can

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[8] This paragraph is drawn largely from Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation in the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS).

883 464 [465] always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in wartime wages ran as high as $7.00.

883 466 563 Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers, but away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

883 593 273 [548] Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

883 671 The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

883 582 Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take jobs. By and large, however, they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

562 [786] Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 174 511 431 this spirit of giving. But not only was the Papago practice of giving motivated by economic considerations; generosity was a high virtue and giving was truly an investment in good will. One who secured a reputation for penury definitely lost caste in village and family life. Moreover, all gifts were returned in equal quantity and more. Such continuous exchange of goods in the form of gifts constituted the Papago equivalent for trade, but only rarely attained the status of actual trade.

Pa 174 439 In addition to the extensive system of exchange of goods among themselves, some Papago made trading expeditions to the Yuma. They also journeyed to the middle Gila, the San Pedro and the Indians in the Altar Valley, then later among the Mexicans of various parts of Sonora. This was done particularly at harvest time, Papago from the northern villages traveling to the Gila where they had relatives and friends, those from the southern settlements being in closer contact with Mexico, particularly the Altar Valley. At these places they traded numerous articles and labored in return for food, in historic times chiefly wheat, but formerly maize and beans, Pi Pa [535] [731] as well as cotton. This was observed in 1740, later by Anza;[38] again in 1863-64, and in 1893 by Whittemore,[39] who also noted that when the Papago became very hungry they would journey to the Gila and present for the Pima a "Begging Dance" which had a specific form and lasted two or three nights, in return for which each Pima family was expected to contribute fifty to one hundred pounds of wheat.

● Pa 174 464 In Mexico a few Papago worked as cowboys and at miscellaneous tasks, for which they were paid in money. Such contacts resulted in a more rapid deculturation and disorganization than occurred in the northern villages. Specifically these villages in the south, some of which had raised cattle since Kino's day, began about a century ago to acquire cattle in larger numbers. As a result of hire for money among the

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[38] *Documentos*, 3rd ser., IV, 838; Bolton, *Anza*, II, 17.

[39] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1863, p. 384; *ibid.* for 1864, p. 153; Whittemore, in *Among the Pimas*, pp. 81-5.

Mexicans they more and more came to use Mexican goods and to pay less attention to agriculture, thus the arrangement of family geographic units was disrupted.[40] Pa 174 464

In lean years among the desert Papago the bulk of the harvesting on Pima farms was done by the Papago, and the custom of such labor for hire has continued until quite recent times. However, desert Papago almost invariably returned to their homes later as it was very rarely that these Indians lived outside their own village except by intermarriage. In ancient times the Pima usually had a rather large and dependable crop, but Pima agriculture was given a strong stimulus beginning with gold rush days in the fifties, and by the eighties the increased penetration of whites created a demand for crop production on a commercial basis. Thus the Papago almost abandoned the northern part of their desert territory to work for the Pima during wheat harvest on the Gila. This was always a great boon to the Papago for whom this time was the leanest part of the year. Here they remained for about a month, a fourth of which was spent trading and cutting willow for making baskets. For their labor the Papago were given daily food and a share of the crop. Although May and June, the time of wheat harvest, constituted the period of greatest Papago movement to the Gila, some of these Indians returned in late fall to assist in planting, and to pick cotton. Pa Pi 174 241 464

Despite the hiring of Papagos by the Pimas, due to commercial growing of wheat by these Indians, the northern Papago villages continued to be agricultural, adding the raising of cattle to the extent of supplying the amount of meat formerly secured by hunting. Moreover, here the arrangement of family geographic units remained intact.

One must not get the impression, however, that irrigation was a culture trait characteristic of Pima, Sobaipuri and Soba, but lacking among Papago. These peoples were one in speech Pa Pi 174 312

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[40] Underhill, *op. cit.*

221 cate. Their vegetable food was largely the camote, an edible root found in
361 the sand dunes, together with the beans of the mesquite and the fruit of the
621 saguaro and pitahaya cacti, for which they came as far as Quitoboquito and
184 the lower Sonoita River.[9] A few of them even now have temporary camps,
as of old, south to the Gulf.[10]

Quitovac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita and the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village, Quitoboquito. Sonoita was an attractive and favored site, as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream. The present village is composed mostly of Mexicans, numbering about 600, who crowded out the Papago. At present there are five Papago families with about sixty people at the lower end of the village.[11] Quitoboquito is a small oasis with one of the largest springs in the Papago country.[12] It never was but a small village,[13] and the population is now reduced to one half-breed family operating a cattle ranch. The spring is on the American side of the boundary line, but the fields and ranch are in Sonora.

Several small villages of Sand Papago are located around Ajo. They are
a nomadic and very poor people, having small houses and a field here and
[161] there. The largest remnant of the Sand Papago is located at Dome and
Blaisdell, about twenty miles east of Yuma. The population of the two vil-
lages totals about two hundred. They have fields along the Gila River and
● [404] work as laborers on the Southern Pacific Railway.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SHIFTS OF PAPAGO VILLAGE SITES OR OF THEIR POPULATIONS

178 Several factors have contributed toward a disintegration of the older
648 and larger villages. To begin with, a degree of concentration was a neces-
sity for security, especially against Apache raids. As the Apache extended
the range of their raiding activities over the Santa Cruz and Altar Valleys,
the Papago abandoned all out-lying villages.

At this time the old village of Poso Verde, Sonora, was deserted and its
[361] people went to Comobabi, Sonora. The place became frequented by Apache
bands. In 1874 the only evidences of habitation were the remains of a few
bacquals and of an old adobe fort built by the Papago as a protection for
[312] their frontier village and grazing range. The "well" was described as a sort
of pit or natural tank with a strong flavor of alkali, cow-manure, dead
coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14]

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[9] Lumholtz, pp. 330-31.

[10] A list of the former camps of the Sand Papagos is given by Lumholtz, pp. 394-97.

[11] A Papago family may include married offspring living under the same roof.

[12] Kirk Bryan, pp. 164-65.

[13] Hornaday, p. 122.

621 on the reservation. Indian residents of Sells on the whole,
[20] seem to be well aware of events occurring beyond the borders
of the reservation.

Surprisingly, there is no real community organi-
[166] zation. This is probably due to the cosmopolitan nature
of Sells with residents having moved there from all parts
[571] of the reservation. The organizations which do exist re-
volve around voluntary associations, churches and cliques.

[434] Residents of Sells have garden plots and some are
[463] cattle growers, but their main source of income is from salar-
[464] ies and wages, with the majority working for the Bureau of
Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Papago
Tribe.

Santa Rosa is not as large as Sells, nor does it
[368] have many of its characteristics. There is a community
building, a government school, a government health center,
a church, and a trading post with gasoline pumps. The
community building is used for meetings which are held
to plan ceremonies and various village projects. There
[575] are also many voluntary associations, all patterned after
similar Anglo associations, such as a Woman's Club, an
Athletic Club, and a Boy Scout troop.

[634] The Gu Achi District Council meets in the commun-
ity building and all political activity of the district is
[178] centered here. Santa Rosa, however, in spite of progressive
tendencies, contains some of the most traditional elements
of Papago culture found on the Reservation.

In an earlier day, reservation residence required 178
an adjustment to a desert enviroment. This being the case, 361
towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable 433
pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, [464]
with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact
essential to the great majority of Indians during some
period of the year, residence near a source of wage work
is also important.

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. 178
As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs 621
were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. 628
Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look
elsewhere for one or another of the essential community
services: shopping, education, health services, religion,
goverment, and the like. These needs are met in a sligntly
different fashion in each of the nine districts.

Baboquivari District. Although the districts -- as 634
political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were estab- 621
lished in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, 628
certain internal district relationships have been built 368
through time which are now important. In Baboquivari dis- [666]
trict Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and dis-
trict elections. It is also the center for the education [797]
of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for [796]
Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native
ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers

Almost Twenty Per cent of The 634
wage work carried on by men of Gu Vo is in the mines of Ajo. 621
Medical services are sought in Sells or Ajo. Folk medicine 628
is sought in the village of Ali Chuk (Menager's Dam). This 368
village also has a reputation throughout the district as [464]
being a ceremonial center. Ali Chuk, with its irrigation, is [316]
quite autonomous and is oriented toward Mexico. Priests,
residing in Pisinimo, make regular visits to both Gu Vo and
Ali Chuk villages.

Hickiwan District. The villagers of Kaka, Ventana
and Vaya Chin commonly associate. (They have the only cattle
association in the district). Vaya Chin contains a BIA
school where children from throughout the district attend.
People at "this end" use the telephones in either Ventana [365]
(at Joe Thomas' house) or at the BIA school. They frequently [366]
shop, however, at the general store in Santa Rosa. Medical
needs are cared for also at Santa Rosa clinic or by the medicine
man in Vaya Chin.

The villagers of Hotason Vo (Charco #27), and Schuchuli (Gunsight) participate in political and ceremonial activities with Hickiwan. They commonly go to Covered Wells or to the "Y" near Ajo to shop.

Pisinimo District. Villagers of this district
have a great many of the educational, political and commercial
needs taken care of by the village of Pisinimo itself.
The trader at San Simon (Wahak Hotonok) provides a "pick-up" [366]
store for district residents who work in Sells. Pisinimo has

162 Table 16. The Papago Administrative Population by Sex and Residence, 1959.

Residence	Total	Percent	Male	Female
On Papago Reservations	4,803	49.68%	2,405	2,398
In Non-Reservation Communities	4,864	50.31%	2,369	2,495
Total	9,667		4,774	4,893
Unknown Residence	528	5.18%	271	257
Total Irrespective of Residence	10,195		5,045	5,150

The administrative population is almost equally divided between reser-
vation residence and off reservation residence with 49.7% living on the reser-
vation, and 50.3% off. The 528 Papagos without known residence are not included
[128] in these calculations. It is necessary to repeat that we have classified
individuals according to "usual" residence and that this designation, in many
cases, was a subjective judgement on the part of our informants.

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171 Manpower Resources. The Papago labor force differs from the non-Indian
labor force in two principal respects. The Papagos have a high percentage of
individuals who are multi-employed, i.e., their income in any given year is
derived from a wide variety of combinations of employment. The other difference
is that the work force has a high percentage of seasonal and temporary workers,
the majority of whom must be described as "underemployed."

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128 In the tabulations below we have assigned multi-employed individuals to
the type of employment in which they earned the largest share of their income
during the 12 months period preceding our interviews. Where multi-employment
income is about equally divided individuals are designated as having "mixed"
463
162 employment. Most multi-employed individuals are engaged in stock raising and

small scale farming on the reservation, in unskilled agricultural employment off the reservation, and in unskilled non-agricultural work. 463 162

Except for seasonal and temporary agricultural workers off the reservation it was not possible to secure reliable information on whether or not an individual had worked on a temporary or permanent basis. The tables, therefore, obscure the extent of the Papago work force which is temporarily employed or underemployed. Since this is an important matter in any analysis of the Papago labor force, estimates of the numbers of seasonal and temporary workers will be provided after the tables are analyzed. 464 128

We are reproducing below a sample collection of individual employment records to illustrate some of the problems encountered in coding and tabulation. 463 464 [128]

Case No. 1. Male. Born in 1916. Abandoned attempt to farm on reservation some years ago. Had no livestock. Formerly worked at temporary jobs in Tucson but maintained home on the reservation. Has lived in Tucson during the past 12 months and works at temporary labor jobs and as seasonal agricultural worker.

Case No. 2. Male. Born in 1911. Has reservation farm formerly worked by his father. Farm now abandoned but he still runs cattle, about 11 head. Worked for CCC in mid-1930's, later picked cotton, then worked many years in Ajo. In recent years he had a permanent job on farm near Gila Bend. During the past 12 months he has held a permanent farm job near Buckeye: irrigating, picking, chopping, tractor driving.

Case No. 3. Male. Born in 1936. Has no farm land but owns a few head of cattle. For a number of years lived on the reservation and worked as seasonal farm hand off the reservation. Left the reservation in 1956. During the past 12 months he has had permanent job as agricultural laborer around Eloy.

Case No. 4. Male. Born in 1891. Has reservation farm, no cattle. Worked most of the time off the reservation at many jobs and in many places when he was younger. In recent years has left the reservation only to pick cotton. During past 12 months has helped with work on family farm, spent a short time picking cotton off the reservation. County provides old age assistance.

Case No. 5. Male. Born in 1932. Has lived off the reservation for a number of years. Has no farm and no cattle. Spent several years working for a Tucson nursery. During past 12 months has had steady work at the Ajo mines.

Case No. 6. Male. Born in 1915. Worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs for many years. Moved to California two years ago. During past 12 months has been employed as a plumber in California.

463 434 Case No. 7. Male. Born in 1937. Has no farm land. Owns no cattle. Lives on reservation. No work experience. During past 12 months has been unemployed, living with parents.

Case No. 8. Female. Born in 1927. Father had fields, no longer used. No cattle. Worked about three months each year picking cotton, formerly received Aid to Dependent Children to take care of brothers and sisters. Now all work as cotton pickers. During past 12 months spent nine months unemployed on reservation, three months picking cotton off reservation.

Case No. 9. Female. Born in 1937. Joined WAC after leaving school. Married and living in Texas last 12 months.

Case No. 10. Female. Born in 1905. Grew up on reservation farm, father had livestock. Moved to Tucson after divorce and worked as cleaning woman and as cotton picker. During past 12 months has had steady common labor work for Tucson institution.

Case No. 11. Female. Born in 1935. Family had no fields, no cattle. Left Reservation in 1942. Attended school in Tucson and Phoenix. During last 12 months has been a University student.

162 463 464 128 Table 17 establishes the size of the Papago labor force and compares this with the group outside the labor force. Contrary to usual practice we have placed the unemployed outside the labor force since we listed as "unemployed" only those people who had little or no income during the twelve months period preceding our interview. In the vast majority of cases they have either taken themselves out of the labor force or are in fact unemployable. Individuals with unearned [434] income are usually also unemployed. The relatively small sums of money earned from basket making, wood chopping, and from the sale of a few head of livestock have been disregarded in our analysis. Individuals with such incomes of course, are to be found inside and outside the labor force.

162 463 434 Agriculture on the reservation is predominantly a matter of self-employment and only a few families (variously estimated at from 20 to 30) gain their entire living from reservation farming and stock raising. The remaining families — approximately 230 — supplement their income through seasonal or temporary wage work. These are the individuals whose principal income is from reservation agriculture. Another group live on the reservation, have small farms or livestock,

but earn their principal income from off reservation wage work. A third group of 162
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small cattle owners live permanently off the reservation and leave their cattle 434
in the care of relatives or employ someone to look after them.

Table 17. Papago Administrative Population. 162
Labor Force Compared With Those Out- 463
side the Labor Force. Individuals 464
19 years and Over, 1959.

	Total	%	MALE Number	MALE %	FEMALE Number	FEMALE %
LABOR FORCE	2,535**	46.7	1,792	66.6	743	27.1
Agricultural	1,409	25.9	1,104	41.0	305	11.1
Non-Agricultural	1,126	20.7	688	25.6	438	16.0
OUTSIDE THE LABOR FORCE	1,905	35.1	407	15.1	1,498	54.7
Housewives	1,094	20.1	-	0.0	1,094*	40.0
Unearned Income	390	7.2	184	6.8	206	7.5
Unemployed	254	4.7	123	4.6	131	4.8
Students	167	3.1	100	3.7	67	2.4
EMPLOYMENT UNKNOWN	990	18.2	493	18.3	497	18.2
Total Population, 19 Years and Over	5,430	-	2,692	-	2,738	-

* An unknown number of housewives earn some income from seasonal farm work.
** An additional 47 men and two women were in the armed forces.

The 990 individuals for whom we have no data on employment are distributed by residence as follows: On reservation, 270; off the reservations in Arizona, 248; outside Arizona, 149; unknown residence, 323.

A more detailed breakdown of the labor force by type of employment and 162
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place of employment is given in Table 18[f] which provides most of the facts upon 128
which an analysis of Papago manpower resources must be based. The table attempts to do three things: separate the labor force by place of employment, by agricultural and non-agricultural employment, and by level of skill.

[f] [See table on p-102 -- Analyst]

Chart 1. WHERE PAPAGOS WORK

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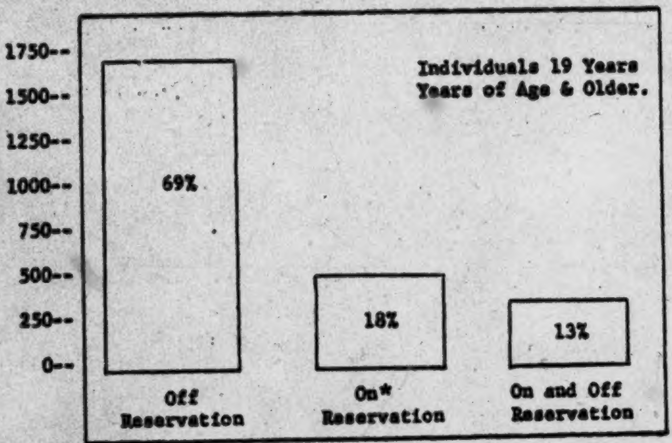

* A high percentage of reservation farmers and stockmen leave the reservation for temporary and seasonal work.

Chart 2. THE PAPAGO LABOR FORCE COMPARED WITH THOSE OUTSIDE THE LABOR FORCE.

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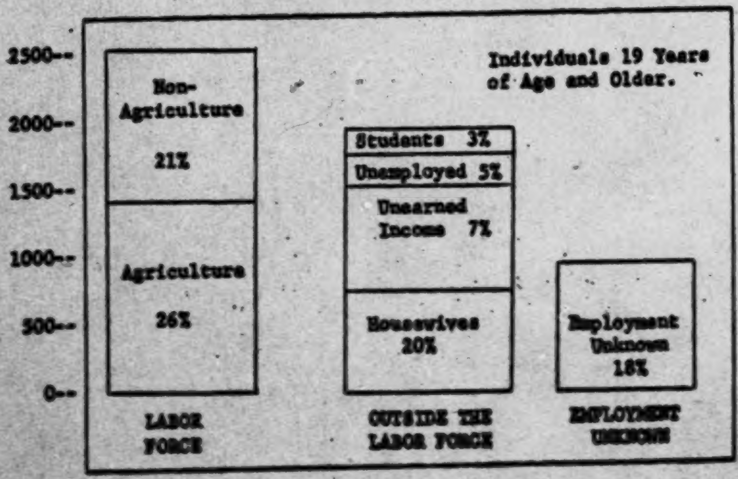

162 463 bricklayers, nurses, secretaries, clerks, typists, truck drivers and the like. About 41 percent of the skilled and semi-skilled workers, excluding the self-employed, work on the reservation mostly for the federal agencies and the tribe. [464] Papago Indians, provided they have equal skill, are given employment preference for reservation jobs and it is obvious that they take advantage of this opportunity. Experience thus gained, is, of course, of great advantage to the individual should he desire to seek employment off the reservation.

463 555 In the process of Papago economic adjustment this group of skilled and semi-skilled workers are of special importance. These are the individuals who are up-grading their employment position; who have moved from routine clerical jobs to secretarial jobs, from cotton picking to tractor driving, and from common labor [177] [868] to an assembly line. Their children, in most cases, are learning English at home, acquiring a better education than the average and, in the end, they will constitute a large enough group of trained and educated Papagos to assume a responsible position in the development of both natural and human resources on the reservations.

162 464 From the point of view of understanding the employment picture, however, the problem of seasonal and temporary employment must be dealt with. We account for seasonal and temporary employment as follows:

Individuals with mixed employment	111
Unskilled agricultural workers on and off the reservations	294
Unskilled seasonal agricultural workers off the reservations	422
Self-employed farmers and stock raisers on the reservations who rely on supplementary wage work	229*
Off reservation wage workers in domestic and service employment. Temporary workers estimated at	240**

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*Thirty of the 259 reservation agricultural workers are estimated to be employed full time.

**This group of 240 is derived from the 483 categorized as off-reservation "domestic and service" workers (See Table 18).

The total number is 1,296, at least 50% of the Papago labor force. These are the individuals who must be classified as "underemployed." They are predominantly reservation residents, and, as will be seen later, are drawn from the Papago population with little or no formal education. 162 464 [184]

The magnitude of the underemployment and unemployment problem is shown even more clearly in an analysis of Table 17.[1] Three hundred and ninety individuals are recorded as living on unearned income (mostly welfare) and 254 individuals are recorded as being unemployed (mostly unemployable). The two classes together constitute 644 and when we add these to the 1,296 who are underemployed there is a total of 1940 Papagos, 19 years of age and over, who are unemployable, unemployed, or underemployed in a total adult population of 4,440 on whom we have employment data. The percentages are as follows: Steadily employed, 28%; unemployable, unemployed, or underemployed, 44%; housewives 24%; and students 4%. [657]

Anyone interested in the "Indian problem" knows that it is the above group of underemployed and unemployed Papagos--almost half of the adult population--who must be the subject of central attention. These are the adults who have only common labor to offer in an industrialized society which is cutting its need for common labor every day. These are the adults who cannot speak English, or handle it badly, who have had little or no formal education, and who were raised in the relative isolation of reservation communities. [191]

It is not assumed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or by the tribal government that time will take care of the problems of unemployment and underemployment among Indians. A number of programs--employment assistance, vocational training, adult education, community development, and social and health service programs have been established in order to give special assistance to Indians. The range and type of services, and the numbers of Indians for whom these services are made available, however, are not in proportion to the magnitude of the Papago social and economic problems as they are defined in this report. 464 657

[1] [See Table on P. 98--Analyst]

162 Males Compared With Females. There are 1094 more men than women in the
462 Papago labor force and this, of course, is accounted for by the 1094 women who are
464 housewives. The relative distribution of women and men as between skilled and
unskilled work is about the same. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find
that in actual numbers there are as many skilled and semi-skilled jobs for women
on the reservation as there are for men. Preferential employment of Indians on
reservations obviously works to the very decided advantage of Papago women where
31 have found skilled and semi-skilled jobs as compared with only 22 in similar
capacities off the reservation (see Table 18).

162 As might be expected, proportionatly more men than women earn their
462 principal income from agricultural employment; 66% compared with 43%. The differ-
463 ence is to be found in the relatively large number of Papago women engaged in
434 domestic service, a total of 318; about 43% of all working women.

The Reservation Labor Force. Statistics reported in Tables 16 and 18
162 show that 50% of the Papagos live on the reservation most of the time but that
434 only slightly more than 31% earn part or all of their living there. About 80% of
463 the reservation workers are in agriculture but it is at this point that our
464 assignment of individuals to categories indicating "major" source of income may be misleading. The 80% of Papago workers who are in agriculture earn their living, with few exceptions, from a combination of reservation and off reservation income, where as the 20% of reservation workers who have non-agricultural employment earn practically their entire income from these jobs. These are the "well to do" Papagos who work for the federal government and the tribe.

162 A comparison of on and off reservation workers with those who are not
464 in the labor force is also interesting. About 48% of the total population 19
years of age or over is in the labor force.

When the on reservation adults are separated from the off reservation adults, however, it is found that 41% of those on the reservation are in the labor force, compared with 60% among those living off the reservation. The difference is in the number of Papagos who are unemployed or who live on unearned income: 358 with unearned income live on the reservation, compared with 32 off the reservation and 174 unemployed persons live on the reservation, compared with 80 off the reservation. 162 464

Employment and Education, Age and Origin. Among the administrative population, 19 years of age and older, 34% has had no education or has not gone beyond the fourth grade in school, 39% has had a fifth grade through eighth grade education, and 28% has had one year of high school education or more. Less than one percent has attended college and less than one percent has had formal vocational training. Comparable percentages for the United States as a whole in 1959 among individuals 18 years of age and older are: no education or less than five years, 7%, up to eight years of education, 27%, up to twelve years of education, 48%. Sixteen percent of the adult United States population has attended or completed college, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1959). 162 871 [171]

The Papago level of education is no surprise when the history of formal education on the reservation is known. It does come as somewhat of a surprise, however, to learn that Indians with a few more years of education find better jobs and steadier jobs than those that have had less than four years in school. The data are in Tables 19, 20, and 21. The reason can perhaps be traced to better facility in English which would be expected of the Papagos who have received an education beyond the fourth grade. The data, however, are contrary to similar information secured on the Colorado River Reservation (Kelly, 1959). Seasonal agricultural workers have a lower than average percentage of individuals who have completed the fourth grade while non-agricultural wage workers are above the average. Only seven percent of the skilled off reservation wage workers have had less than five years in school (See Table 20). 162 871 464 [191] [114]

[text continues on p.109]

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Table 19. Papago Administrative Population by Employment and Level of Education. Individuals 19 and Over, 1939.

Type of Employment	No Education	1 to 4 yrs.	5 to 8 yrs.	9 to 12 yrs.	College	Vocational	TOTAL	No Data
ON RESERVATION								
Agriculture	44	73	91	44	2	0	254	5
Non-Agri. Wage Work	5	18	62	76	3	4	168	0
Other	11	6	10	4	0	0	31	3
Housewives	101	142	216	89	0	0	548	13
Unearned Income	152	82	94	18	0	0	346	12
Unemployed	29	36	63	43	0	1	172	2
ON AND OFF RESERVATION								
Agri. on, Seasonal Agri. Wage Work off	66	88	118	20	0	0	292	2
Other	1	10	24	6	0	0	41	0
OFF RESERVATION								
Agri. Wage Work								
Seasonal	88	136	141	30	0	0	415	7
Permanent	43	101	219	59	3	0	425	9
Non-Agri. Wage Work								
Unskilled	21	79	380	298	6	5	789	17
Skilled	1	4	8	45	10	5	73	4
Housewives	30	83	219	171	4	2	509	24
Unearned Income	11	3	10	8	0	0	32	0
Students	0	8	24	114	7	11	164	3
Unemployed	7	18	30	21	0	0	76	4
TOTAL	610	887	1709	1066	35	28	4333	105
Unknown Employment	8	23	35	117	10	3	218	772

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Table 20. The Papago Administrative Population Percentage of Individuals at Each Level of Education by Type of Employment. 19 Years and over, 1939.

Type of Employment	No Education	1 to 4 yrs.	5 to 8 yrs.	9 to 12 yrs.	College	Vocational
ON RESERVATION	%	%	%	%	%	%
Agriculture	17.3	28.7	35.8	17.3	0.7	0
Non. Agri. Wage Work	3.0	10.7	36.9	45.2	1.8	2.4
Other	35.5	19.3	32.3	13.0	0	0
Housewives	18.4	25.9	39.4	16.2	0	0
Unearned Income	43.9	23.7	27.2	5.2	0	0
Unemployed	16.9	20.9	36.6	25.0	0	-0.6
ON AND OFF RESERVATION						
Agri. on, Seasonal Agri. Wage Work off	22.6	30.1	40.4	6.8	0	0
Other	2.4	24.4	58.6	14.6	0	0
OFF RESERVATION						
Agri. Wage Work						
Seasonal	21.2	32.8	34.0	12.0	0	0
Permanent	10.1	23.8	51.5	13.9	0.7	0
Non-Agri. Wage Work						
Unskilled	2.7	10.0	48.2	37.8	0.8	0.6
Skilled	1.4	5.5	11.0	61.6	13.7	6.8
Housewives	5.9	16.3	43.0	33.6	0.8	0.4
Unearned Income	34.4	9.4	31.2	25.0	0	0
Students	0	4.9	14.6	69.6	4.3	6.7
Unemployed	9.2	23.7	39.5	27.6	0	0
TOTAL	14.1	20.5	39.4	24.6	0.8	0.6

162 871 464 Similar correlations between education and employment apply to workers who have had at least one year in high school. The proportion for the entire administrative population, 19 years of age and older, is 28%. The proportion for on-reservation wage workers is 49%, for unskilled off-reservation wage workers it is 39% and for skilled off-reservation wage workers it is more than 61%.

Papagos who work off the reservation at more or less full time jobs are better educated than those who work on the reservation. The comparative percentag are in table 21.

Table 21. Papago Administrative Population by Place of Employment and Education. Individuals 19 and over, 1959.

Place of Employment	No Education	1-4 Years	5-8 Years	9-12 Years	College	Vocational
On Reservation						
Agricultural	17.3	28.7	35.8	17.3	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural	3.0	10.7	36.9	45.2	1.8	2.4
On & Off Reservation						
Agricultural	22.6	30.1	40.4	6.8	0.0	0.0
Off Reservation						
Agricultural						
Seasonal	21.2	32.8	34.0	12.0	0.0	0.0
Permanent	10.1	23.8	51.5	13.9	0.7	0.0
Non-Agricultural						
Unskilled	2.7	10.0	48.2	37.8	0.8	0.6
Skilled	1.4	5.5	11.0	61.6	13.7	6.8

162 871 562 462 464 The differences in level of education between men and women is very slight and for various categories of employment the numbers involved are too small to have any great significance. Men in off-reservation skilled work are, on the whole, better educated than women in the same category with 84% of the men and 78% of the women having better than a ninth grade education. The numbers involved are 42 and 18 respectively. Housewives are better educated than the average

Papago women and this is probably due, as might be expected, to the lack of education found among the women who must support themselves or help support their families in seasonal agricultural work. Women engaged in non-agricultural wage work, which includes the women who work as domestics, are the best educated. 162 871 562 462 464●

Employment and Age. The significant age differences in employment are given in Table 22. Contrary to heretofore inconclusive evidence, Papagos under forty hold more jobs in off-reservation wage work (agriculture and non-agriculture) in proportion to their numbers than do the older men. The unemployed, however, are definitely younger men: 6.3% as compared to 4.0%. Unearned income (usually welfare) goes to the older people, 17.6% as against 2.4%. There is little or no sex difference in this category. 162 464 561

There is a very high proportion of Papagos over 65 who are receiving unearned income (usually Old Age Assistance): 206 out of a total of 343 (57%). [657] [888]

Table 22. Papago Administrative Population
Employment by Age. Individuals 19
Years and Over, 1959.

Type of Employment or Income	Under Forty			Over Forty		
	Total	Number	%	Total	Number	%
Reservation Agriculture	2540	115	4.5	1907	155	8.1
Reservation Wage Work	2540	72	2.8	1907	46	2.4
Off Reservation Wages	2540	1065	41.9	1907	634	33.2
Unemployed	2540	160	6.3	1907	77	4.0
Unearned Income	2540	60	2.4	1907	335	17.6

Employment and Origin. In addition to a low average education, the Papago labor force has the added disadvantage of little or no childhood experience in areas where young people normally have a wide variety of jobs. Approximately 86% of the present Papago labor force originated on the three reservations where opportunities for earning money at odd jobs are practically non-existent. Boys and girls on the reservations, of course, help their families in the home and on 162 464 868

162 the farm or range, but this is far different from the training received when young
● 464 people work for strangers. The 14% that originated off the reservation reflect
868 this, and other advantages in the nature of the jobs they hold (see table 23).
[463] They have 18% of the permanent agricultural jobs, 19% of unskilled wage work and
37% of the skilled wage work.

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Table 23. Papago Administrative Population. Comparison of Types of Employment by Origin. Individuals 19 and Over, 1959.

Types of Employment	Origin On Reservation Number	Origin On Reservation Percent	Origin Off Reservation Number	Origin Off Reservation Percent
ON RESERVATION				
Agricultural	273	96%	11	4%
Non-Agricultural Wage Work	152	91	15	9
Other	32	94	2	6
Housewives	511	93	37	7
Unearned Income	306	95	15	5
Unemployed	171	98	3	2
ON AND OFF RESERVATION				
Agriculture on, Seasonal Agric. Wage Work off	287	98	7	2
Other	41	100	0	
OFF RESERVATION				
Agricultural Wage Work				
Seasonal	381	92	33	8
Permanent	353	82	76	18
Non-Agricultural Wage Work				
Unskilled	645	81	151	19
Skilled	47	63	28	37
Housewives	376	72	150	28
Unearned Income	21	72	8	28
Students	117	71	48	29
Unemployed	57	71	23	29
TOTAL	3770	86	607	14

Total with origin unknown 64. Total with employment unknown 495.
Total with both origin and employment unknown 395.

Papago Agricultural Workers in Pima County. Agricultural work off the reservation is of such great importance to Papago family economics that we felt it necessary to make a special study of this subject. The project was planned and executed in 1961 by Mr. Harland Padfield, a Department of Anthropology graduate student who is an authority on this subject. Unfortunately, the study was limited to Pima County since funds did not permit the extension of the research to other sections of southern Arizona. 114 121 464 [101]

Mr. Padfield was able to establish two points: (1) Papago Indians in farm work are shifting to other jobs than seasonal cotton picking and are not being displaced because of mechanization, (2) they account for 30 percent of the total man-hour input and 27 percent of the total wage input on Pima County farms and receive total annual earnings of about $630,000. The evidence, although not conclusive, also indicates that there is a steady increase in the training and use of Papagos in the operation of farm machinery and in other skilled jobs. 162 463 464 [434]

The author concludes his report with the following words: "These data should make it patently clear that with the Papago Reservation virtually surrounded by 370,000 acres of farm land needing a labor force in excess of 10,000 workers and a labor expenditure probably in excess of $13,000,000 annually, programs and policies aimed at the problem of Papago economics cannot ignore farm labor; neither can programs and policies aimed at the problem of farm labor ignore the Papago Indians." 464

Padfield's work was based upon an area sample which permitted him to generalize from detailed interviews with 21 of the 119 farm operators in Pima County with a total acreage of 29,796 out of 66,873. Data thus collected was supplemented through interviews with crew leaders who recruited the seasonal workers, mostly cotton pickers, for the farms drawn in the sample. 124 115

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The author's summary of findings will be found in Table 24 where he analyses his sample in terms of Papago man hours of farm work compared with other workers; in Table 25 where man hours are given in percentages; and in Table 26 where earnings, calculated for the sample, are projected to the total amounts earned by all farm workers in Pima County.

An interesting distinction is made between temporary farm work and seasonal farm work. This was possible because farmers keep their own records on temporary employees who are hired for many types of jobs during the year. Seasonal workers, on the other hand, are hired by labor contractors (crew leaders) to take care of peak periods of farm labor demand.

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Table 24. Number of Workers, Man-Hours, and Earnings by Category of Work and Ethnic Affiliation from a Sample of Pima County Farms.

		Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Work Categories		Amount	Amount	Amount	Amount
Direct Permanent full time	No. workers*	164	41	8	213
	Total man-hrs.	492,000	107,004	20,880	619,884
	Total wages	$551,040	$121,764	$23,760	$696,564
Direct Temporary part time	No. workers*	64	227	9	300
	Total man-hrs.	46,126	111,530	7,200	164,856
	Total wages	$ 34,594	$ 83,647	$ 5,400	$123,641
Indirect crew leaders' crews	No. workers*	261	146	158	565
	Total man-hrs.	133,377	116,220	89,100	338,697
	Total wages	$ 86,695	$ 75,543	$57,915	$220,153
All Work Activities	No. workers*	489	414	175	1,078
	Total man-hrs.	671,503	334,754	117,180	1,123,437
	Total wages	$672,329	$280,954	$87,075	$1,040,358

*These worker figures do not represent discrete units, except in one category--"Direct Permanent." For the other two categories they represent contacts with actual persons, who may or may not have been recalled by name, which were recorde primarily for the purpose of facilitating the informants' and investigators' computation of man-hours which do represent discrete units.

[P.113]

Table 25. Percentage of Total Man-Hours by Category of Work and Ethnic Affiliation of Workers from a Sample of Pima County Farms.

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	Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Direct Permanent	79.3%	17.3%	3.4%	100%
Direct Temporary	28.0	67.6	4.4	100
Indirect	39.4	34.3	26.3	100
All Work Activities	59.8	29.8	10.4	100

Table 26. Projection of Sample Findings as an Estimate of Total Income from Farm Work in Pima County by Ethnic Affiliation of Workers*

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Work Categories	Non-Indian	Papago Only	Other Indian	All Workers
Direct Permanent Full Time	$1,238,292	$273,627	$53,393	$1,565,312
Direct Temporary Part Time	77,739	187,971	12,135	277,845
Indirect Crew Leaders Crews	194,820	169,760	130,146	494,726
All Work Activities	1,510,852	631,358	195,674	2,337,883

* Projections for the entire county were calculated by dividing the item--wages in this case--by ".445" the fraction of total county acreage (66,875) that the acreage of the sample farms (29,796) comprised. Average wage for permanent workers was $1.00 per hour plus about $30 per month in other benefits, for direct temporary workers it was 75¢ per hour and for indirect workers it was 65¢ per hour.

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464 Changes in Papago Job Participation. With reference to Table 24, Padfield points out that Papago participation in Pima County farm work is roughly equal in all categories--107,004 man-hours in "direct permanent", 111,530 man-hours in "direct temporary", and 116,220 man-hours in "indirect" (i.e., seasonal labor contracted by crew leaders). The following discussion of this point and other data developed by Mr. Padfield are taken directly from his final report.

[114] From all accounts traditional Papago off-reservation work in the past has been seasonal work, chiefly in cotton (Dobyns, 1950). In 1961, Papagos supplied not only a significant (one-third) proportion of all farm work in the county, but two-thirds of this large proportion of work in 1961 was not seasonal--admittedly not altogether permanent, but not seasonal. Thus either these earlier impressions are erroneous or there has been a marked trend toward more permanent and/or more highly skilled farm jobs in the past ten years.

The growers themselves tend to support this inference in that over half of the 21 comprising the sample said that they were using Indians in more skilled jobs, with only one grower saying that he was using them in less skilled jobs.

The individual employment records of 43 Papagos also tend to support this inference in that 32 percent of them show an advancement in job skills with the rest showing no change either way.

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[114] The Status of Hand Labor. Our data (Table 24) indicate that seasonal hand labor still accounts for one-third of all the man-hours of farm work in Pima County. This leads us to question the assumption that agricultural hand labor will shortly be a thing of the past, and that Indians depending on income from hand labor are ipso facto displaced workers. This phenomenon is far more complicated than that.

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464 In the first place, seasonal hand work is by no means all the hand labor expended on farms. Much of all crop production activity is still hand--irrigating

ditching, weeding, etc. As workers who have traditionally participated in these activities move up or out to other jobs, these activities absorb many workers who are being replaced by harvesting machines. In addition, there is a continuing need for hand picking of cotton and a local labor supply must be maintained since out-of-state migrants have had little incentive to move into southern Arizona where the large scale adoption of cotton-picking machines has cut employment opportunities. Major dependence upon machines, as a matter of fact, can back-fire on growers, particularly when caught in unseasonable torrential rains--as in December, 1959--which rendered picking machines useless. Growers also recognize that hand picking of cotton can often be to their advantage. With reference to cotton thinning, some of the largest farms were going back to hand labor in 1962.

In summary it may be said that the margin of benefit at least for many growers in many circumstances is still sufficient to dispel the notion that machines are going to replace hand labor or even seasonal hand labor in the foreseeable future.

Papagos are getting 34 percent of the seasonal hand work on Pima County farms. Proximity of farms in this county to the reservation is largely responsible for these favorable ratios; nevertheless there are other factors operating which are putting Indians in a generally more favorable position for these seasonal work activities. As mentioned above, the massive decline in the out-of-state migrant stream which is traceable to mechanization has placed greater dependence upon local workers for the jobs that remain.

Another result of mechanization which may have a counter result in favor of the Indian worker is the wholesale abandonment of the farmer-owned housing system for seasonal workers, and the subsequent shifting of recruiting, superintending, and paymastering services to the crew leader. The extent of crew leaders' use of Indians, as well as crew leaders' ethnic preferences tend to

463 support this inference. Seventeen crew leaders were interviewed. Only one
464 reported using Indians less frequently than formerly. All the rest have either
observed no trend, are using Indians the same or are using them more. Five of
the 17 reporting said they are using them more.

464 There are, of course, certain obvious factors inherent in this kind of
177 work pattern which are compatible to general Indian and Papago Indian participation.
829 The worker can enter and withdraw at will without obligating himself to become
integrated into Anglo society. The family and village pattern can remain intact.
Income tax and social security, in fact, the whole Anglo pay check complex is in
most cases avoided. Language barriers are made insignificant, and the standardized
relationships within the extended family are most usefully employed to get work
through word of mouth communications. The upshot is that this kind of work,
though not as rewarding financially as other kinds of work, is least disruptive
of folk patterns.

464 Conversely, the advantages of Indians to crew leaders are quite simply
that, relative to other domestic seasonal workers, they are dependable, available,
and exploitable.

Direct Temporary Farm Jobs. The high utilization (67%) of Papagos as
temporary farm workers (as opposed to seasonal) is of significance in two
[461] directions. It indicates, first of all, that Papagos are willing to take this
kind of work and that farm managers seeking temporary employees depend upon the
[868] Papago labor pool. More significant for the Papagos is the opportunity they thus
gain for training in all types of farm work, including the operation of farm
[177] machinery. Potential benefits, in fact, carry beyond the limits of farm work
since the nature of the employment (as contrasted with seasonal work under a crew
leader) involves direct and intimate experience with an Anglo employer and all the
463 complexities of wage work employment. The Papagos are obviously well started in

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Table 28. Income of Papago Indians Employed on the Main Reservation and at the San Xavier Hospital and Mission during Fiscal Year 1963.

Employer	No. Papago Permanent	Employed Temporary	Annual Income
Bureau of Indian Affairs	67 *	34	$327,872 65,104
Public Health Service	49	2	218,858 1,799
Papago Tribe	13	3	30,289 497
Kitt Peak Observatory	4	24	18,221 58,982
Catholic schools-missions	18	1	20,012 1,000
Reservation Traders	12	4	25,931 4,411
Reservation Restaurants	6		8,944
Reservation Gas Stations	4		8,500
Reservation Cattle Buyers	3		7,051
State Highway Department	2		10,379
Sells Post Office	1		674
Protestant Missions	2		660
Total	181	68	$809,264
Special 1963 Federal Works Project			301,498 **
Total for Fiscal 1963			$1,110,762

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* Individuals in this column are employed on a year round basis but not necessarily full time.

**This is a non-recurring item, undoubtedly absorbed some workers who would have found work elsewhere, and will not be included in our calculations of annual reservation income.

162 434 of days or weeks they are actually employed during the year. Average annual earnings for this group of 803 individuals would probably be located somewhere between the average income of welfare recipients ($861) and the individuals engaged principally in reservation farming and stock raising ($2509).

121 Only a sample survey, now made possible by the existence of a Papago population register, could determine more precisely the annual income of Papago adults, or Papago families. The answer, whatever it might be, would add little to our knowledge. We know the nature of Papago employment, we know the approximate numbers of individuals in each of the categories of employment, and we know the magnitude of the problems of unemployment, underemployment, and dependence upon welfare. To know the dimensions of a problem, however, is only the beginning. This must be followed by an examination of the facts which may lead to a solution. A great deal, but by no means all, of the necessary information is contained in this report. The task of analysis, however, must be deferred at this time except for certain more obvious considerations which are treated below.

178 185 463 464 Conclusion. The outstanding fact, and this runs as a thread through all our statistics, is that the Papago Indians are solving their own problems. Starting from very nearly "zero" in 1917, when the Sells Reservation was established, the Papagos have shown great skill and persistence in finding ways to remain self-supporting in the face of meager resources and a rapidly changing world around them. They have done more than this. A substantial number--more than 300--Papago boys and girls have secured an education and have moved into productive employment as skilled and semi-skilled workers. Another substantial group, about 30% of all adults, have found permanent and near permanent employment on and off the reservation in spite of language, cultural, and educational handicaps.

The trend of events is clearly discernible in our material. Papago families remain on the reservations, taking advantage of all possible income

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opportunities until these are exhausted. At this point they turn to outside employment. A full half of the members of the tribe have made this move on a more or less permanent basis and another thirty percent make the move on a seasonal or temporary basis. This is the direction of Papago adjustment and its most encouraging aspect is the fact that it is a case of self-adjustment, uninfluenced in any important respect by forces outside the interests and goals of the Indians themselves. This is not to say that they like it. This study, and every other study of the Papagos, has shown that they accept a removal from their reservation villages only with greatest reluctance; partly because they prefer to live in a familiar environment and near their friends and kinsmen, and partly because they do not have the background in education and experience which would assist them in facing the many problems of life in a strange environment. Neither do they have the background in education and experience which would permit the more intensive development of reservation income opportunities, thus permitting larger numbers of Indians to remain on the reservations and at the same time enjoy a more acceptable standard of living.

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There are many factors involved in the solution of the economic problems which have been presented in this report. We have presented data on the level of formal education and the range of work experience. The generation of adults now seeking employment did not attend school at all, or were in school only a few years when they were children. Their origin is predominantly from reservation villages and their work experience has been almost exclusively in agricultural or common labor employment.

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These are the outstanding handicaps with which they must contend, and they are the handicaps, even though less severe, with which their children will have to contend.

The situation is one in which necessary conditions for improvement can be clearly defined without, at the moment, being diverted by the host of

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[For the author's predictions and projections on the future of Papago migratory farm labor (employment and wage levels, recruiting and labor relations, labor camp living conditions and sanitary facilities) in view of probable technological and economic changes in regional commercial agriculture, see category 116, pp. 99-135.]

177 648 [161] [464] During the decade before 1950 the population of the Southwest leaped about 50 per cent. Now most Indians are no longer isolated. They have numerous white neighbors even in rural areas--except on some very large reservations. From many small reserves Indians commute to work in large Anglo cities. Southwestern natives are in much closer contact with large numbers of Anglos than ever before. They are exposed to more Anglo culture, and can learn and are learning more about it and adopting more of it. Indians in the region are changing rapidly in thoughts and action.

[464] Southwestern Indians also have behind them now nearly two decades of wide-spread experience at wage labor. First emergency work relief programs in the 1930's recruited them. Then many young men and women served in the armed forces, and defense industries pulled reservation dwellers away from their homes into the war-time manpower vacuum.

> "With the advent of war, Papago were drafted, and both men and women began to leave the Reservation in large numbers to work in the cotton fields, ranches, mines, railroads, and airplane factories. The effect of this new work pattern will be far-reaching."*

177 464 648 A few years working along side Anglos in their own surroundings for equal wages taught formerly unsophisticated Indians more about Anglos and their culture than

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*Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.

177 decades of tutelage by the Indian Bureau and tourists.
● 464 And more Indians were affected than ever before—a quarter of the hitherto ultra-isolated Navahos; all the men in
648 some Pueblos in New Mexico. Defense workers and servicemen learned new standards of living and new modes of behavior.

161 At the war's end they returned to inadequate reservation lands. For Indian population in the Southwest had
[433] leaped far beyond the human carrying capacity of the reserves—small remnants of original Indian territory held in trust for them by the government. While many smaller tribes stabilized at their size of 50 years ago, larger groups are rapidly increasing even though Anglo immigration submerged the total Indian minority ever deeper.

311 At the same time the Southwestern Indian land base
433 deteriorated in quality so it could support fewer people,
177 because of overgrazing, erosion, and other causes.

> 221 "Faced by these increasing difficulties, many Papago families began regularly to migrate off the
> [464] reservation to pick cotton and engage in other seasonal wage work during the winter months, while they retained permanent homes in their 'fields' villages where they spent the remainder of the year farming and herding. In time a new dual residence and economy pattern developed among the Papago.
> [182] By reinforcing the rhythmic balance of traditional culture and personality structures the new pattern apparently met, to a certain extent, both immediate economic needs . . . and deep-rooted socio-psychological needs for security and opportunity for constructive development."*

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*Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

WHAT--this report is about--COTTON

464 Probably 2000 Papago Indians leave the lands held in trust for them by the government each year to work for farmers in irrigated valleys east and north of their reservations.[1] By far the largest number perform the hand-labor necessary to grow and especially to harvest cotton, the most important crop in Arizona. Cotton brought in 43% of the state's agricultural income in 1950,[2] selling for nearly 120 million dollars.[3]

Cotton has a long history of hand-labor, but in southern Arizona--seventh ranking cotton producer in 1950[4]--its cultivation is as highly mechanized as anywhere in the world. Carey McWilliams' characterization of the California cotton farmer applies equally to most Arizona cotton barons:

> "Ol' Massa in these parts is a precision farmer and agricultural or farm-commodity politician, a plunger, a soil-robber, and, above all, a smart operator. He combines a Western toughness and taste for gambling with a remarkable willingness to experiment with technological innovation, and he finds ...the funds for huge capital investments."[5]

In Arizona he is frequently a water-robber also, exhausting the underground reservoir of liquid accumulated over many decades, or perhaps centuries.

A huge investment in machinery typifies Arizona cotton farms. The farmer uses crawler tractors with huge sub-soilers and plows and discs to break and pulverize the sandy alluvial soils with their high mineral content. He plants seeds of cotton strains specially bred for arid Arizona. Growing plants are little subject to weather vagaries, for the growing

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[1] See Appendix II.
[2] Barr, 1951, p. 5.
[3] Lint valuation $101,868,000; seed valuation $18,715,000. Arizona Daily Star, May 20, 1951, p. 1.
[4] Barr, 1951, p. 6.
[5] McWilliams, 1951, p. 130.

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

101 This report is concerned specifically with the
[121] role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over
7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican bor-
[197] der. These natives speak a Piman language closely
related to others spoken from the Gila River south
to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call them-
selves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

101 A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican
361 side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--
villages with houses scattered barely within sight of
131 each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts
with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic
existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their
[185] lands. They are said to have given up their Indian
heritage and are waiting passively to die.

101 The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are
[186] a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few
hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo
[464] cities. They have chosen to break away from their
Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children
[199] a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American so-
ciety, especially by affording them a formal educa-
[871] tion in public schools.

657 Most of the Desert People, however, live in
rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S.
423 from their former territories. The San Xavier
[131] community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by
Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre
reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms,
and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until
Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the
water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irri-
[312] gated from wells. Most of it was allotted to indi-
viduals, and the useable agricultural and range land
[311] is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its
use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the
[428] fractionalization of holdings through inheritance.
Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to
recognize old use-rights more than the legal allot-
ment system.

WHERE ? . . . Two Counties

●464 The Desert People do not go far afield seeking work. They hire out to farmers in the river valleys north and east of their reservations in Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona. Most of the cotton grown in these two counties is planted on the flood plain of the Santa Cruz River.

133 The Santa Cruz rises in the U. S., swings all the way around in Mexico and flows northward and westward across southern Arizona to the valley of the Gila River which rises in New Mexico to the east, flowing westward to the Colorado River. These streams are located in part of the Basin-and-Range physiographic province, where broad flat valleys are separated by steep volcanic mountains. The [311) arable land in the Santa Cruz valley is restricted by mountains in the upper reaches, widening out into the tremendous Gila valley.

000 Some cotton is grown in Santa Cruz county, between Mexico and Pima county. Harvesting is done by local labor or Mexicans. Cotton is grown northward along the narrow river flats for a few miles between the county line and the San Xavier Indian Reservation. This is the Sahuarita-Continental area, so called after the two tiny villages located there. A small cotton gin operates at Sahuarita. The reservation and other uncultivated lands separate this area from the small farms, some of them growing cotton, around the city of Tucson on the Santa Cruz north of the San Xavier reservation, and on Rillito Creek which flows eastward from the Santa Catalina-Rincon mountain system to empty into the Santa Cruz.

This small-farm area, which is being taken out of farming into suburban home-sites for rapidly growing metropolitan Tucson, extends northward just past Jaynes Station. Desert intervenes between it and a small cultivated area at Rillito, which is properly a southern extension of the Marana farming region, but still separated from it by desert.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 17]

000 At Marana the Avra valley, which farther south lies parallel to and west of the Santa Cruz valley, joins the latter, forming a sizeable expanse of level land. Once controlled by a single company, this area is being sold off to individual farmers.

At the Pinal county line cultivation ceases, and desert still remains until the cotton lands of the Picacho-Eloy area begin. Those are pushing southward toward Pima county constantly along the Santa Cruz channel. The farms of Pinal county are connected by a network of section-line roads hub-deep in fine dust during picking season, after week without rain and daily pounding by trucks hauling pickers, supplies and heavy cotton trailers. There is still some unbroken desert inside this road network, but very little. The trading centers not many years ago were headquarters of distinct farming areas separated by several miles of desert. Today the desert brush is mostly gone, and the cultivated area pushes out at its edges each year. The little towns are losing their distinctiveness, and look much alike. Farmers who once lived on farms close to town now live in expensive homes in the towns, and supervise the farming of hundreds of acres, which may be scattered in 2 or 3 parts of the county, 20 or 25 miles apart. The towns themselves are growing. A decade ago none of the major trading centers in the agricultural area of Pinal county boasted 2,000 inhabitants. In 1950 all three were over 4,000 and 5 or 6 smaller and more isolated shopping centers had sprung into being and were increasing in population.

North of this farming area, in the Salt River valley, is the major agricultural region of Arizona. West in the Colorado river valley is a large producing area. East in the San Pedro valley and on the upper 464 Gila are smaller farming communities. But those attract few if any Papago laborers. An attempt to send Papagos to the Colorado valley to harvest melons in 1950 failed. The Desert People work in the Santa Cruz-Gila river area where they have gone to harvest for centuries.

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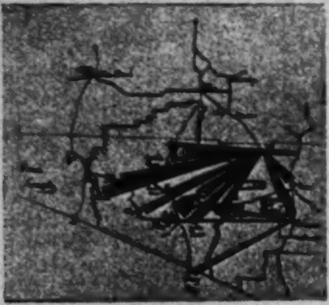
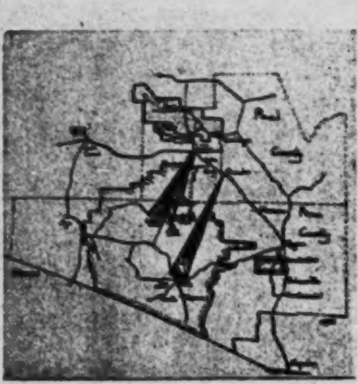
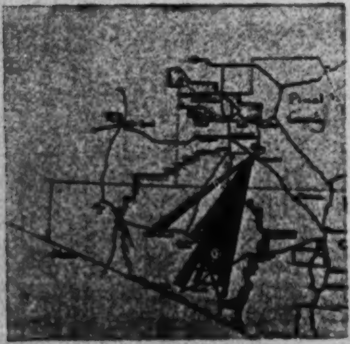


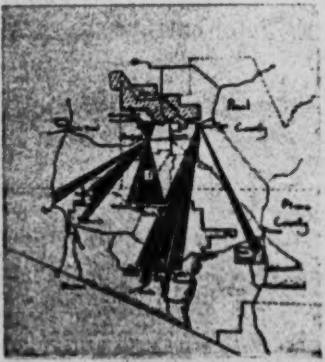
Home towns and working area of Papago cotton pickers in Pima county, Arizona, 1950.


Pinal County
Pima County

Home towns of Papagos working in the cotton harvest near Casa Grande and Picacho, Pinal county, 1950.


Pinal County

Home towns of Papagos working near Eloy picking cotton in 1950.


Pinal County
Pima County

Home towns of Papagos picking cotton near Stanfield and Coolidge, Pinal county, Arizona,

WHERE THE DESERT PEOPLE WORK

● 464 When they leave their reservations to seek farm
466 work the Desert People don't strike out blindly to
hunt work. The work seeks them. Farmers or their
foremen or contractors drive onto the reserves seeking labor, and after recruiting in the scattered
villages, haul the Papagos to their labor camps.
About 85% of the Papago farm laborers were hauled
from their homes to the camps where they stayed for
[493] the 1950 picking season.[1] Only a small number--about
15%--travel to the labor camps in their own cars.[2]

The Desert People do not hire out to the first labor recruiter who happens along. They have definite preferences among employers, based on their experience in past years. The Papago laborers of 1950 had already worked in the cotton harvest an average of 4 years.[3] About two-thirds of the Papago hands had worked before the 1950 season, and went to the particular farm where they worked because they'd been there before and were satisfied with it. About a sixth of them were introduced to the farm where they worked in 1950 by one or another of their relatives. Only about a sixth just happened to choose their location.[4]

464 Over 90% of the farmers the Desert People work for are Anglo-Americans. But a few are themselves members of minority groups--Chinese-Americans in Pima county and (Asiatic) Indian-Americans in Pinal county. These farmers are almost all large-scale operators, and they hire about twice as many Papagos proportionately as Anglo-American farmers. Although they form less than 10% of the farmers hiring Papagos, they hire over 20% of the Papago labor force.[5]

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[1] Of 20 giving information, 17 were hauled.
[2] 3 of 20 giving information.
[3] Based on the work-experience of 26 persons.
[4] Based on questioning 11 families specifically, and impressions gained in conversation with many others.
[5] Of the 52 farmers studied who hire Papagos, 47 are Anglo-Americans, 3 Indian-Americans, 2 Chinese-Americans. Of 41 Papagos working for them, 32 worked for Anglos, 4 for Indians, 5 for Chinese.

WHEN? . . . A Hundred Days

000 To city people in southern Arizona "The Hundred Days" are the first hundred or so in the year when the main industry of the area is in high gear. Then tourists from colder parts of the country flood into the cities to pump enough dollars into the commercial system to last the rest of the year.

461 221 The hundred days of the cotton farmer come earlier, after the first of September. And they are really more than a hundred, extending usually into mid-January. But the cotton picking season is just about one hundred working days long--22 picking days to the month (5½ work days to the week).

Summer heat continues into October, and the picking that began about the first week of September with the opening of the first bolls is hot, sweaty work. More and more bolls open until the first killing frost which usually comes in mid-November turning the plants brown. Then leaves fall off and the last bolls open quickly. After that harvesting is a race against time to pick the lint before rain and sun deteriorate it.

464 221 [361] The Desert People begin their annual migration to the cotton fields months earlier to work at cleaning ditches and weeding and thinning the growing cotton. The harvest hands start moving into labor camps in August, and more continue to move in until the peak of the season in November finds perhaps 4,500 Papagos living in Pima and Pinal county camps.

221 The Desert People are old hands at seasonal migrations. For untold centuries they moved back and forth between their fields in the valleys and springs in the mountains where they went after the harvest and the drying up of valley water holes. The present migration out to the labor camps comes a little earlier than harvest time, and interferes with growing crops on the reserves.

221 602 186 182 "Despite the practical difficulties involved, the findings suggest that the development of this physical, social and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.22]

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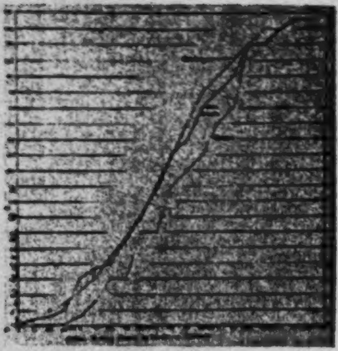

Progress of the Cotton Harvest in 1950. Casa Grande, Coolidge and Tucson areas. (Expressed as the percent harvest was complete.)

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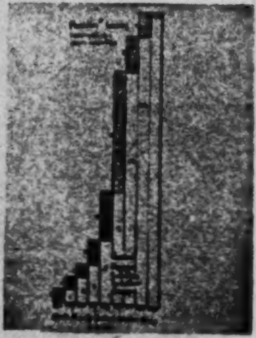
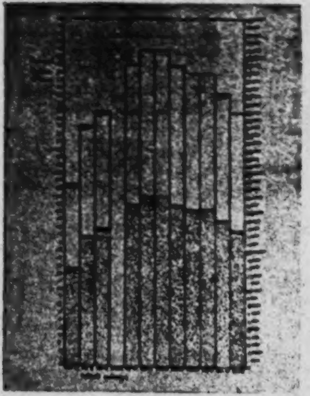
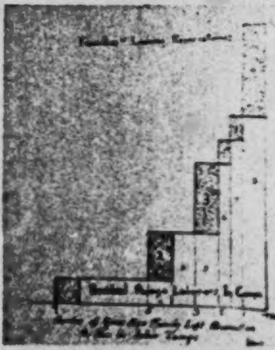


Departure of Papago families for cotton field work, 1950. This chart shows the rhythm of the annual migration from the reserves to chop and harvest cotton.



Growth and decline of cotton picking force in Arizona, 1950. Shaded portion represents Pima and Pinal counties. (Based on figures issued by Arizona State Employment Service: Arizona Cotton Bulletin, 1950 a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Arizona Farm Labor Bulletin, 1950 a, b, c, d.)



Migration of Papago farm workers to permanent residence in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona. This chart illustrates the rising importance of year-round wage labor in Papago economy.

221 602
182 psychological base in cooperative family
life, with roots in the traditional home-
186 land to counterbalance the wage work cycle
is of vital importance to Papago well-being
as a firm pivot around which the individual
may build his new adjustment to rapidly
changing modern conditions. As such, the
new dual orientation may well serve as the
focus of administrative planning.[1]

166 However, an increasing proportion of the Desert People
464 who work on cotton farms no longer make an annual
migration from reservation home to labor camp. They
463 have moved from the reserves more or less permanently,
[361] consciously recognizing themselves as permanent farm
workers. Mostly they are irrigators, but do general
farm work, and include tractor drivers and other
skilled workmen. They contribute some labor to har-
vesting cotton, since men pick when regular jobs are
[162] slack, and wives and children pick off and on. These
people made up over a fifth of the Papagos interviewed
in the course of this study,[2] indicating that the num-
ber of Papagos living on farms outside the reserves
all the time is relatively large, perhaps as many as
464 800.[3] They occupy an important place in the labor
picture and economy of the cotton-growing valleys.
182 Their ability to support themselves by wage labor is
very important to the economy of the reserves, remov-
ing part of the population overload that cannot be
supported adequately by the poor lands of the reserves.

464 This form of adjustment to a radically changed
361 economy has not progressed to its ultimate, however.
In South Africa, where European settlers moved in and
166 confined the natives to similar reserves, about 35%
171 of the native population lives permanently on Euro-
pean owned farms.[4] If 800 Papagos live on southern
[162] Arizona farms all the time, only about 10% of the
population is living on European owned farms outside
the reserves. (Perhaps as many live in southern
Arizona cities.)

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

[2] 12 of 53 families, or 22.6%.

[3] About 2,000 Papagos picked cotton in 1950, and about 4,500 lived in labor camps. So approximately 200 Papago men may be working as year-round farm labourers, and their wives add another 200 part-time cotton pickers. Their families are somewhat smaller than those of pickers migrating from the reserves.

[4] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.

464 36 166 178 179 [221] [722] [648] [161]

The movement of the Desert People to permanent homes in labor camps on European owned farms, abandoning their roots on the tribal lands is a relatively new development. While Papagos have worked for Europeans for almost the entire period of contact, their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until recent years. The Papago economic base was never destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Over-population on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

464 166 171

This class of Papago farm laborers is very new compared to natives living on South African farms. Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

[602] [592] [574] [186]

The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year-round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the reservations. But they all still have friends on the trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. They all still visit their old homes, even if only rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

HOW the Papago Indians Work

THE FAMILY -

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[434]

The approximately 2,000 Desert People who move out into the cotton fields from their reserves to work do not move alone. The family--father, mother and children--moves as a unit.

> "It should be emphasized that, although a larger percentage of his income is obtained from work off the reservation, the Papago wage worker is not generally a footloose migratory laborer according to the usual pattern in the United States. The Papago laborer usually takes his family with him and maintains his home on the reservation."[1]

[162]

The Papago family living in Pinal and Pima county labor camps in 1950 averaged some 4½ persons,[2] making the total number of Desert People living in labor camps at the peak of the cotton harvesting season in the neighborhood of 4,500.

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The usual Papago family in a labor camp included a father and mother and two or three children. Families with children had 3 oftener than 2.[3] About 60% of the Papago families working in the cotton fields brought school children with them from the reserves.[4] What this meant to public schools in the trading centers of the cotton growing area may be deduced from the fact that families with school-age children had on the average 1.6 such offspring to be taught in the schools.[5] If both father and mother work, this means school authorities in the cotton-growing areas of Pima and Pinal counties should expect to provide educational facilities for .8 Papago school children for approximately 60% of the total number of Papago harvesters.

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[1] Thompson, 1951, p. 71.

[2] 47 families had 208 persons, an average of 4.43 individuals in each family. (Actually these families included some additional persons not enumerated.)

[3] 28 families with children had 64, averaging 2.2857.

[4] Of 31 families giving information, 18 brought school-age children to the camps, or 58.1%.

[5] The 18 families brought 29 school-age children.

124 596 594 [178] The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

221 464 602 574 Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

464 561 221 602 [855] Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

596 464 221 About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1] 60% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).

[2] Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%

[3] Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.

[4] This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.

WHERE THE PICKERS LIVE

221 The people who move into the irrigated valleys
464 of southern Arizona to harvest the cotton crop must live
somewhere while they work in the fields. Like other
361 migrant farm laborers

> "During a considerable portion of each year they live perforce in houses or shelters which are not their own homes and in localities which are not their own home communities. Their children must suffer a series of breaks in school attendance and be denied many of the community privileges which are the normal lot of other youth. These conditions are important to employers of migrant workers. Good facilities and conditions help to induce workers to accept employment while bad conditions make it difficult for employers to obtain the workers required."[1]

In 1950 cotton harvest hands had essentially two choices in southern Arizona. They could live in cities or towns and ride out to the fields every morning, or they could live in labor camps on the farms and walk to the fields.

464 A new pattern of mobility is emerging in the Arizona
466 cotton harvest which would considerably surprise someone
familiar with the region a decade ago. Many of the
484 20,000 or so pickers in Pima and Pinal counties lived in
towns and were hauled out to the fields each day in
494 trucks or buses in 1950. Labor contractors recruited
these crews, and sent them to the best picking available
361 each day. About two-thirds of the cotton farmers in
Pima and Pinal counties paid contractors to haul pickers
to their fields.[2] About a fifth of the farmers in Pinal
county hired pickers who lived in towns, but drove their
own cars to the fields instead of working under a contractor.[3] Actually very few farmers relied on pickers
driving to work to harvest their crop--those who did
planted small acreages close to towns. Most growers
hired anyone who came along in his car along with hands
hauled from towns in trucks and those living in camps.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, pp. 18-19.

[2] 20 farmers of 31 giving data, 64.5%, in Pima county did. 26 of 38, or 68.4%, in Pinal county hired such pickers.

[3] 9 of 38 farmers giving data hired them--23.7%.

[4] 4 of 31 farmers giving information hired them--12.9%.

464 484 494 In Pima county, at least, Papago cotton pickers seem to have become as fully mobile as any other harvest hands. Many Desert People who have moved to Tucson or live there during picking season ride trucks or buses to the fields each morning. The drivers, usually Mexican-Americans, establish regular routes from which they pick up hands, and the Indians are just individuals in a mixed crew of Anglos, Mexican-Americans and Negros. Some Papago families living in Tucson also move into labor camps on farms.

At nearby San Xavier the Desert People can choose [463] [621] either method of working. Those moving out to live in labor camps are generally irrigators and farm handy men who live away from their community most of the time, returning for religious celebrations and visits. Part-time laborers picking cotton usually take an uncomfortable ride to their jobs every day in canvas-covered flat bed trucks that usually have rough benches to sit on. At least one San Xavier man has escaped the bottom of the economic scale by hauling other Papagos to work in his truck even as other contractors.

Fewer Papagos ride to work each morning in Pinal [184] county. The proportion of the total picking force hauled from the towns each day is also much smaller than in Pima county. The trading centers do not afford the labor reservoir available in big-city Tucson, nor the [361] housing for migrant workers found in that city. So the greatest part of the harvest labor is housed in camps on cotton farms, and many of the hands hauled from the towns live in what are no more than labor camps thrown up in the trading centers.

464 361 Despite increasing importance of mobile labor that is more efficient in that it can be put to work where most needed, most cotton farmers rely still on pickers living in their own labor camps on their farms. Four-fifths of the cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties have these camps.[1] A few farmers operated more than one labor camp in 1950--1 farm of every 9 or so has been afflicted with two camps or more.[2] Some farmers built

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[1] 26 farmers of 34 giving data, 76.5%, in Pima county had camps. 46 of 57 giving data, 80.7%, in Pinal had them.

[2] 72 farms with camps had 82, averaging 1.139 per farm.
46 farms with camps in Pima county had 50 camps.
26 farms with camps in Pinal county had 32 camps.

464 361 a second camp because their fields were located in widely separated areas. Some observed that they had less trouble in their labor camps when different ethnic groups lived in separate camps, so built smaller separated camps instead of a single large one. Some just happened to have more than one camp because they'd purchased land with more than one.

464 362 Regardless of the number of camps a farmer owned, or where they were located in the two counties, what has been said of housing for migrant labor elsewhere in the U. S. applies to Pima and Pinal counties, Arizona.

> "Migrants have little choice in the matter of housing. They must accept whatever shelter is available in the area in which they seek employment. Tents, make-shift shelters, broken-down one-room cabins, converted chicken coops, deserted farm houses, long rows of unpainted one-room cabins, old barns and other farm buildings provide 'homes' for thousands of migratory workers. In most instances, the occupants eat and sleep in one room--cook their meals either in this room or in a nearby cook shack and sleep on bunks or on straw thrown upon the floor. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions add to the health hazards, endangering both the migrant workers themselves and the communities in which these conditions are permitted to exist."[1]

464 489 The lack of choice is especially true for Papagos and other migrants to southern Arizona's cotton harvest because they are mostly hauled from their homes to labor camps by the farmers, and lack transportation of their own. They must live within walking distance of their work or be hauled to it.

000 Most of southern Arizona's cotton barons haven't been growing white gold very long, but joined with their near-kin in California and New Mexico, they are dethroning King Cotton in the South and enthroning him west of the Pecos river. They probably are going to be raising cotton a long time. So the progress they have made in solving their production problems is of more than passing interest.

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 20.

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
361 not realize they have a community of interest in keeping
their camp clean—there is no organized social sanction
364 in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean
up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

The Desert People are extremely careful around their
364 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of
464 the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be litter-
ed with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So admin-
626 istrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor
camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of
[351] hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units
with residents of a reserve town scattering to several
labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction in Papago
community life, the fear of being talked about,[1] loses
its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other
races does not produce action by the Desert People that
talk in their home community would. The same is true of
other people in labor camps—being talked about by mem-
bers of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanc-
tion to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely
to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
571 one racial origin are studies in social disorganization
resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls,
626 resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling,
women going to work from different cabins each morning,
178 etc.

Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the
364 grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but
farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.

000 Indians and Negros are hired with about the same frequency to pick southern Arizona cotton, with Indians having a slight edge. Just over three-fourths of Pima county farmers hired Indians, and just over half Pinal county farmers did.[1] The Papago Indians make up the greatest

● [464] part of the Indian labor contingent. The Desert People and Negros are hired on southern Arizona cotton farms with about the same frequency. Both groups were hired on about three-fifths of Pima county farms and on over two-fifths of those in Pinal county in 1950.[2]

Negro cotton pickers, however, tend to work in larger groups. The average number working on each farm hiring them was over 17.[3] The Spanish-speaking hands were employed in slightly smaller groups, averaging just over 16 on each farm hiring them.[4] These figures reflect the frequency with which Negros and Spanish-speaking pickers worked in crews of a single ethnic group--their own.

Anglos hired in Pinal county averaged in 1950 more individuals per farm than any other group: about 20 per farm.[5] But in Pima county the average number of Anglos hired was the least of any ethnic group, only about 6 per farm.[6] This difference mirrors the considerably higher proportion of non-white pickers hired in Pima county as compared to Pinal.

464 Papago Indians working in Pinal county generally worked among larger groups of their tribesmen than those in Pima. Several farms hiring only Papagos were studied in Pinal county; none in Pima. There were over a dozen Papagos on farms hiring them in Pinal county in 1950; but only about 9 in Pima.[7]

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[1] 26 of 35 Pima county farms on which data was obtained hired Indians--76½%. 36 of 68 Pinal farms did--53%.

[2] 31 farms of 68 on which data was obtained in Pinal county hired Papagos and 31 Negros--46%. 21 of 34 in Pima county hired Papagos and 21 hired Negros--62%.

[3] 275 on 16 Pinal county farms and 189 on 11 Pima county farms averaged 17.2 in each case.

[4] 490 on 30 Pinal county farms averaged 16.3 per farm. 290 on 18 Pima farms averaged 16.1 per farm.

[5] 27 farms studied hiring 535 Anglos averaged 19.8.

[6] 9 farms studied hiring 55 Anglos averaged 6.1.

[7] 28 farms studied in Pinal county hired 350 Papagos, and averaged 12½ per farm. (90% of farms visited hiring Papagos). 13 farms in Pima county hired 121 Papagos, averaging 9.3 per farm (62% of farms studied hiring Papagos.)

000 After the Desert People, the Indians most commonly
employed on farms in Pima and Pinal counties were Yaquis.
Of 65 non-Papago Indian cotton pickers enumerated in this
study, 42 were Yaquis (and the number actually employed
was of course much larger. Other tribes represented in
the 1950 cotton harvest force were Choctaw (9 counted in
this study), Cherokee (5), Pueblo (5), Pima (3--however
many hundreds of Pimas work in the Salt River valley),
and Sauk (1). In Pima county about a fifth of the cotton
[464] farmers employ Yaquis,[1] some hiring both Papagos and
Yaquis.

PAPAGOS

464 The approximately 2,000 Desert Peoples harvesting
cotton in 1950 were good pickers. Employers are generally
agreed Indians pick the cleanest cotton, which means
money in the grower's pocket. (Lint grades better if it
is not stained by leaves and dirt; and the gins penalize
for too much trash) Employers are also generally of the
461 opinion that Indians are slower than other pickers, with
464 Yaquis picking faster than Papagos. Usually they feel
slower speed about offsets cleaner picking. Actually,
it is doubtful whether Indians are any slower. Papago
433 men seem to average over 200 pounds of upland cotton per
day.[2] This is probably quite near the average of all
461 pickers. The average amount picked by one man day's labor
in Pinal county in a 1948 study was 188 pounds.[3] Papagos
interviewed by the writer varied in picking speed from
128 pounds per day to 300. Indian pickers seem to set
themselves a steady pace which can be maintained through
the day. Other pickers tend to pick fast early in the
day, bringing in heavy sacks on their first weigh-in, but
slowing up during the day as they become fatigued. This
writer feels employers usually remember the first weight
of the day, so conclude Indians are slower pickers--seldom
do employers keep track of pickers' daily totals.

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[1] 6 of 26 Pima county farms hiring Indians hired Yaquis; these 6 were 23% of those studied (70% of total cotton acreage in the county).

[2] Based on data from 8 men who knew their picking speed, ranging from boys to middle age, 6 working in Pinal and 2 in Pima county. They averaged 211 pounds per day each.

[3] Ballantyne, 1950.

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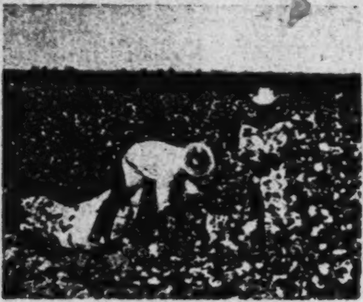
[271] →

Picking is two-hand work . . .
you have to move fast . . .



and you have to stoop down low . . .

drink your water out of a barrel . . .

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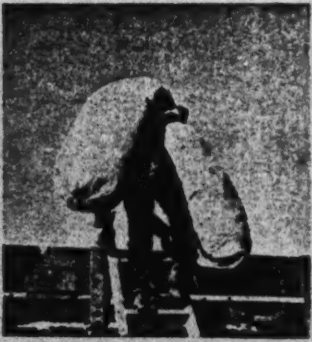

and climb up high . . .

but the pay is very welcome.

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago peop[illegible] lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

175 790 177 [231] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

175
177 at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange
797 idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain.
[465] At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy
[439] was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

177 Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of
439 foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than
464 kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and
465 goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource—their own labor—into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

46 The role Papago women have played in these changes
177 cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather
439 the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology—irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. —made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

461 This need for cash is recognized by the realistic
464 Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

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464 Probably the whole body of Papago cotton harvesters earned a gross income in the neighborhood of $600,000 in 1950.[1] This amount very likely represents about half the total cash income of the Papago Indians in 1950. Added to wages earned in the Ajo and reservation mines, working for the government, the Tribe, traders, and the highway department and in domestic service, and the wages of Papago farm workers during the rest of the year, this figure probably represents a total wage labor income comprising over 60% of all Papago income.[2]

511 The $600,000 gross cotton picking income estimate does not represent anywhere near that amount in take-home to the reserve pay, however. Workers must support themselves while they are picking cotton, pay for their pilgrimmages on religious occasions, for any trips they take back to the reserves during picking season, and for clothes and food purchased against lean days without work after picking is done.

During the war it was estimated that $50 of every $100 received by Papagos was spent by them in the trading posts on their reserves at once.[3] Since many Papagos were in the services or doing defense work who are now on the reserves or picking cotton, the proportion is probably only slightly lower. Almost as much went into the coffers of merchants outside the reserves during the war[4] and this amount has increased if anything at the expense of reservation traders. In any case, the Desert People can return home with little cash.

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592 [1] Calculated as follows: Average seasonal income per family with man and wife picking is about $600 ($635 in upland or $565 in American-Egyptian, but a family usually had to pick some of both) assuming the workers starting before September approximately balance those starting later. The number of families with $600 gross income in 1950 was about 1,000 (figuring 2 pickers per family in a labor force of 2,000). Actually income was probably higher because of additional amounts earned by children after school hours and on holidays, and those families with more than 3 steady pickers, and families in which wives worked a full week.

[2] Laboring wages made up 56% of Papago income in 1947, and the figure is undoubtedly higher now. Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 31.

[3] Program, Papago Reservations, 1944, p. 43.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Basic reasons Papagos Work--

433 In a rural area, there are not many choices of
[463] livelihood--farming, mining, lumbering, raising cattle.
The Papago reservations have no timber worth cutting
[657] other than mesquite trees for firewood. The Papago
[313] reservations are the only lands in the U. S. reserved
for Indians which are open to mineral entry by out-
[316] siders. Consequently mining claims are held by non-
Papagos, and profits go elsewhere. The only way the
[464] Desert People can benefit from mines is by selling
their labor to the owners.

241 Farming is risky for the Desert People. Only two
communities have irrigated lands which can be depended
311 upon for crops. The rest must resort to age-old tech-
433 niques of flood farming where arroyos spread flood
waters from mountains. Spots that can be farmed this
way are not abundant. They are being decreased each
summer as gullies wash out fields and arroyos cover
them with sterile sand and gravel washed down from over-
grazed and eroding slopes above. Flood farming was
never more than a subsistence measure because of the
size limitation on fields, and frequent crop failures
from flooding out, frost, or drought. Today, there is
little incentive to gamble on a subsistence farm for any
Papago able to speak enough English to get a job. For
[464] wage labor means a super-subsistence income, even if a
[511] substandard one by Anglo lights.

Probably every worker on the Papago reservations
241 has noticed the steady abandonment of flood farms. A-
433 mong Papago cotton pickers with these farms, less than
half apparently bother to plant any crops at all nowa-
464 days.[1] Cotton picking starts just about the time fields
need weeding on the reserves, and picking season hits
221 its peak just about the time flood field crops are ready
to harvest. This conflict between flood-farm growing
season and wage-labor season in the cotton fields re-
sults in many Papago laborers not planting crops at all
on the reserves.

433 Another factor discouraging flood farm planting is
241 that these small plots produce only subsistence crops
at best, even if the gamble against drought and over-
461

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[1] 5 families of 11 giving information had any crops at all in 1950.

433 flooding and grasshoppers is won. This subsistence
241 scale, risky enterprise cannot long compete against
[461] the surplus-over-subsistence earned in the cotton
fields.

The crops Desert People working in the 1950 cotton harvest did plant on the reserves were not even on a subsistence scale. The few beans or squash, the patch of melons they actually planted were no more than a supplement at most.

● 464 Clearly an important reason Papagos sell their la-
471 bor is that a high proportion do not even have flood
farms where they could try to farm if they wished to.
423 Probably nearly half the Desert People picking cotton
in 1950 had no fields.[1]

237 For Papagos who cannot farm, there is still a
433 possibility of raising cattle. However, xerophytic
desert vegetation is not particularly well suited to
[137] fattening cattle--thorns don't make fat. Rainfall on
reserve lands is very scanty, and good stands of grass
[132] are small and undependable.

231 Among Papago cotton pickers of 1950, nearly half
the families owned cattle.[2] However, some of them
422 actually had only 1 cow, and the average number of head
owned by each family was only a dozen.[3]

One difficulty for Papago cattlemen is that horses
are kept by most families, taking up range that could
support more beef animals. These horses are not es-
pecially good stock--no one raises horses for export.
[492] But the Desert People are still mainly in the pre-
automotive age of transportation. If they don't walk,
[493] they generally must ride horseback or in a wagon pulled
by horses. Over three-fourths of Papago cotton pickers
in 1950 owned horses.[4] And each of these families kept
[671] 6 or 7 horses.[5] If it were not for an ordinance of the
Papago Tribal Council restricting each family to not
[646] more than 10 head of horses, horse population of the
reserved lands would undoubtedly be much higher.

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[1] 39 families gave information. 20 had their own fields, or 51%. (Only 2 were in irrigated projects, 5%) Fathers of 3 younger men had flood fields, 8%. So 41% had no flood fields in their extended family.

[2] 19 families of 40 questions owned cattle, 47½%.

[3] 8 families giving information owned 96 head, averaging 12 per family.

[4] 31 families of 40 questioned owned horses, 77½%.

[5] 21 families giving data owned 138, averaging 6.6 each.

231 As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to
671 run just slightly under the number allowed on permits
422 assigned by the Council. Among families picking
cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

596 Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted
602 fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or
426 horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with
231 animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--
a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off
[603] to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving
children with their grandparents so they can continue
[891] uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates
the continuing economic function of the Papago extend-
[594] ed family. Although the biological family is the main
unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture
it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

● 464 On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market
is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities.
[797] A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians
because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon edu-
[891] cation, and good quality of denomination schools.

461 Many cotton harvesters recognise these fundamental
reasons for their working. When they expressed their
464 reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said
they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Cheky, 1949, p. 37.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is reflected
464 in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest seasons.
The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

432 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earning
money—and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
871 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly convinced
both of the necessity for educating their children
and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend public
schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
888 the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I moved
[462] over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950—71%.

RECRUITING

More Desert people can be expected to pick cotton in 1950 than ever before.

WHY

000 The planters with their acres upon acres of white gold will be alert to recruit any labor available. Arizona's Indians are the only primary rural labor pool [464] not already fully exploited, so growers may be expected to intensify their recruiting on the reservations, especially on the Papago reservations where growers know they can hire good steady workers, often experienced.

464 466 [516] The Desert People are much like foreign workers who are preferred for stoop labor in the Southwest for reasons outlined very well by Carey McWilliams.[1] They are non-white and willing to stoop at their field work, and they generally return to the same job year after year once they have established a satisfactory relationship with a farmer. They are isolated from the general migratory labor pool, and continue to be isolated by their annual return to their reserves, and their ethnic difference from other pickers.

000 Intensified recruiting will probably result in many older people leaving the reserves for the cotton fields for the first time, or the return to the fields of those who may not have worked there recently for one or another reason. Average size of Papago families living in labor camps will increase in 1951, with more pickings per family unit.

Working conditions in the cotton fields will be about the same in 1951 as they were in 1950. There will be more inexperienced contractors and growers whose crews may suffer occasionally for lack of drinking water and other minor inconveniences, but this will not be very serious.

Informal person-to-person contacts between Papagos and prospective employers will suffice the Desert People for 1951--serve them very well in fact. So far as full employment goes, there will be no need for a formal

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[1] McWilliams, 1950, p. 286-287.

46 of the employers who discussed Papago picking capabilities with the writer believed the Desert People picked slower than other harvest hands. But just as many of them also believed Papagos picked cleaner cotton,[1] which makes them sought after cotton pickers. Clean picking and ability [273] to get along well with employers also outweigh the serious handicap of drunkenness among the Desert People. Employer's experiences with drinking Indians naturally varies. But almost all reported their Indian crews were far below full strength on Monday. A Marana farmer said, [512] "If they'd quit drinking they'd be the best. But 99% of them do drink. They are never any good on Monday, pick up on Tuesday, and are working good on Wednesday." Another remarked that Papagos start to drink Thursday night. These are extreme examples--some cotton farmers luckily hired only families which didn't drink--but a Monday lay-off from picking is general. And growers who have employed Papagos for many years are quite accustomed to bailing their Indians out of jail for $10, or coddling men like J. who "works one week here and one in [598] the city 'hotel'." The faculty of the Desert People for not arguing or causing trouble must count very strongly with cotton farmers for them to put up with other failings of Papago harvest laborers. Whether their pro-Papago attitude would survive creation of a Papago Labor Service is extremely doubtful. For the type of cotton grower common in southern Arizona would tend to interpret a Labor Service as just the kind of trouble he tries to avoid in hiring the Desert People. The social welfare activities of a Labor Service as suggested by Dr. Thompson are exactly the sort of trouble cotton growers would avoid by not hiring the Desert People.

464 466 Whether a Papago Labor Service tried to place workers or the Desert People were placed through the Arizona State Employment Service, cotton growers would look askance. They prefer pickers who deal directly with them over pickers sent out from the ASES for the simple reason they are usually better pickers. Migrants who come directly to the farms are experienced in picking cotton--whether they are Anglos or Indians, Negros or Mexican-Americans. Farmers can depend on them to pitch right in and pick their weight. Pickers sent out from ASES offices are not always so dependable. Field offices in Pinal county help many experienced migrants find places, along with inexperienced beginners. But in Pima county a high

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[1] Based on 13 interviews in Pima, 11 in Pinal county.

464 466 proportion of ASES recruits have not had any experience picking cotton--they are city people out of work and looking for some money. It takes them several days to learn to pick enough to make a living wage. If a grower pays hauling expenses, as he usually does, he loses money until they learn. Turnover is high. So farmers look for pickers who have harvested enough cotton to know their way to the fields.

WAGES

000 *The piece-work rate for picking cotton can be expected to go up in 1951.*

WHY

The leap in cotton acreage in Pima and Pinal counties in 1951 will mean growers must hire about 30% to 70% more hand harvesters than in 1950, even with a sharp increase in the number of machine pickers at work. In a nation on a semi-war basis, this number of field hands cannot be found under the nearest mullen leaf. At the beginning of World War II cotton plungers in southern Arizona could compete with war industries for some of 8,000,000 unemployed. By 1951 picking season the unemployed labor pool in the U. S. will have dropped below a quarter of that figure.[1]

1951 cotton gamblers will have to pay high piece rates to attract enough field hands to harvest their crop unless they can pass a miracle. They are straining at it, pressuring Congress for relaxation of regulations governing the importation of Mexican citizens for field labor.[2] But Congress has shown little speed in acting, so little that Mexico is withdrawing its nationals already in this country. Despite thousands of Mexican workers thronging Hermosillo, capital of neighboring Sonora,[3] only about 700 have entered Arizona (officially), and must be shared between cotton and produce growers.[4] They are not numerous enough yet to hold piece rates down.

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[1] Figures are from Hutchinson, 1951, p. 125.
[2] Casa Grande Dispatch, Dec. 28, 1950.
[3] Arizona Daily Star, March 29, 1951.
[4] Tucson Daily Citizen, May 23, 1951.

000 The adulterated code is silent on the relationship of labor camps to unsurfaced roads, stables, or poultry runs. The water supply must be approved by the State Health Director or a local health department, with each family having access to 35 gallons a day which need not be delivered to the house, only within 50 feet of it. Only 1 shower head per 20 persons must be provided. Kitchens need not be separated from living rooms. Growers didn't succeed in seriously watering down provisions for labor camp registration with health authorities, supervision and inspection, fire protection and garbage disposal.[1]

Even this emasculated labor camp code scheduled to go into force before next picking season will eliminate many of the worst features found through the 1950 season. Many cotton growers realise the need for cleaning up their camps, and have joined in planning the new code, dragging their feet when cleaning up appeared to threaten their wallets too much. But some growers have joined with disgruntled urban groups to attempt to refer to a vote of the electorate for approval legislation passed by the 1951 legislature reorganising several state departments, including a new Health, Welfare, and Correction department which would enforce the labor camp code. They have succeeded in referring the bills, which prevents them from taking effect as law until approved at the polls. So the recalcitrants apparently can put off action to improve their labor camps until after the boom-season of 1951, and slow down improvements by conscientious farmers who are willing to move, but move faster under official prodding.

464 466 362 Papago Indians will benefit from improvement in camp conditions to the extent growers for whom they already work improve their labor camps. But over-all improvement will not aid the Desert People all it might. As pointed out earlier in this report, they choose their working spot not on the basis of the quality of the housing available in a farmer's labor camp, but on the basis of their personal relationship to that farmer. If he is a good man to work for, the Desert People return to his farm year after year, whether his labor housing is of the best or not--and frequently it is not. However, Papagos won't necessarily work for a farmer they like regardless of the type housing he provides. One

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[1] Arizona Daily Star, May 14, 1951.

464 farmer who provided tents for his pickers told the
466 writer, for example, that while he felt he could re-
362 cruit an Indian crew because he had worked on one of the reserves and knew most of the people, they like better housing and wouldn't stay.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

000 ***Papago migrant workers living in labor camps in 1951 will not be exposed to as great a threat to their health as before.***

WHY

The head of the State of Arizona's postponed new Department of Health, Welfare and Correction, Dr. Clarence G. Salsbury, has been retained in his post as director of preventive medicine in the existing health department. He will undoubtedly do what he can in the regulation of labor camp health conditions. While Dr. Salsbury has retired from Ganado Mission Hospital (Navaho Reservation) he shows few signs of loss of energy. The interest and intervention of the State Department of Health to some extent during and definitely after the 1950 picking season was a new and wholesome factor in the labor camp health situation. This policy cannot help but lead to better conditions.

It is easily predictable that the State will not have sufficient inspection or preventive medical officers in the field to effectively control the situation. It simply was not appropriated enough money by the state legislature to handle the number of people that will be needed to pick the boom-year cotton crop. Nor is a special session of the legislature likely to provide more enforcement funds after the rebuff given the lawmakers in referring their reorganization bills. Obviously Papagos would be better protected if half their meager federal medical staff could be assigned to duty in

660 effective for adults if they learned individually, since one strong reason for lack of faster progress in learning English is a fear of being laughed at for making mistakes.

The Papago Council can assist the reduced number of unskilled Desert People who will be able to harvest cotton before frost kills leaves enough for picking machines to work efficiently. The Council might authorize the Papago Loan Board to grant loans to capable, responsible young Indians to purchase buses to haul Papagos to the fields from a town base, like the young man at San Xavier already mentioned. Indian contractors would necessarily have to weed out their crews to include the swiftest pickers who harvest clean, high-grading cotton preferred by growers. They would need to know the cotton growing areas intimately so they could move their crews where jobs were available. The Loan Board might well exercise some regulation over the housing these Indian contractors financed by the Tribe furnished their crews.

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466 The fact the Desert People live relatively near the Pima and Pinal county cotton fields will continue to operate to their advantage in a highly competitive labor market. Cotton farmers don't have to send to Texas or Oklahoma to hire them, and their transportation costs are only a fraction of those of most migrant workers. Their strong beliefs in St. Francis leading to prolonged absences from the fields, during the pre-frost hand picking seas; their lack of knowledge of English, and the stereotypes about Papago drinking habits some Papagos have caused most Anglos to hold will mitigate against the entire small hand picking force of the future being composed of the Desert People. But at this time, the Indians appear to occupy the most favorable position to obtain the small proportion of harvesting jobs which will remain in the cotton fields when the harvest reaches peak mechanization.

Papagos and Yaquis will also be preferred by many cotton growers for the picking jobs remaining after full mechanization because they are isolated from the general labor market. They can be imported and exported as needed, much like foreign contract laborers. And the cultural conditioning of Indians gives them quite different characteristics as laborers from Mexicans or [177)

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[1] Suggestions for school and adult education programs are made and discussed in Dobyns, et al, 1949, p. 65 ff.

464
466 Negros who have absorbed more Anglo-American culture
177 and are therefore less subservient.

SKILLED FARM WORKERS

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The more skilled Papago farm laborers will be least affected by mechanization in the cotton fields. There is no foreseeable way of mechanizing the process of irrigation in the immediate future (although it could be done!), so demand for Papago irrigators will continue. And they are good irrigators when experienced. As one cotton growers remarked only half-jokingly, "The Papagos are the only people I know who can make water run uphill!"

464 Another quality in the Desert People that makes
them attractive to Anglo farmers is their psuedo-subser-
466 vience. Employers say an Indian will never argue with
you; he'll do a task your way, but if he doesn't like it
156 he just leaves. Anglo farmers seem to prefer this kind
of action to arguments and recriminations from workers
of their own group, or Negros or Mexican-Americans. It
arises from the deepest wells of Papago personality.
[183] "In addition to belief in magical and supernatural for-
ces, the main behavior requirements for smooth function-
ing of the Old Papago society were work, co-operation,
[867] and avoidance of aggression."[1] These ideas drilled into
the Papago child from infancy make the Papago adult a
nearly ideal employee from the Anglo point of view.

464 Advantages of behavior the Desert People have in
466 finding farm jobs in southern Arizona are somewhat off-
set by their relatively poor understanding and command
[191] of the English language, and the high incidence of
[273] drunkenness among the men. However, the most serious
disadvantage the Desert People will labor under when
cotton cultivation and harvesting reaches full mechanization will be lack of skills.

464 Of course, irrigators and general farm handy men who clean ditches, feed cattle or poultry, mend fences, and perform simple tasks on hay balers and other machines will still be hired. But their pay will be relatively low compared to tractor operators, especially machine picker drivers, and other skilled men. Papago farm workers have little opportunity to learn these skills, and mechanization may sweep the cotton fields leaving them all performing lowlier tasks.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 211.

•464 Even so, the number of Desert People making a living on irrigated farms outside their reserves will be considerable. There is every reason to believe more Papagos will be added to the approximately 200 working the year round on farms by 1950. Their ability to support themselves by farm labor is of the greatest importance in freeing over-exploited resources of the reserves for others.

LIVING CONDITIONS

000

Mechanization of the processes of cotton growing and harvesting will result in greatly improved living conditions for relatively fewer, more skilled farm laborers in Arizona.

WHY

When the southern Arizona cotton crop is harvested by machines after frost; and hand picking is limited to the period before frost, the need for labor camps on cotton farms will be virtually eliminated. Numbers of pickers to be housed will be much smaller than at present. And if the trend toward hauling pickers from town to the fields every day continues as expectable, housing will be needed on cotton farms only for year-round employees, who may also pick some cotton.

This will mean cotton growers can invest more money per unit in their labor housing for skilled workers. Such a trend has already set in, both in Pima and Pinal counties, where farmers are already building compact 3 and 4 room concrete block homes for their foremen and tractor drivers, etc. These homes are pleasantly located and the farmers or their employees are setting out trees and gardens and lawns around them. They have indoor plumbing and running well water, good hard floors, adequate window space, and are relatively fire-proof.

There is little room to doubt that as mechanization of the cotton harvest advances, quality of labor housing on cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties will im-

INCENTIVES

080 *All incentives impelling papagos to work for wages in 1950 will continue into the foreseeable future.*

WHY

There is no appreciable improvement in reservation resources on the Papago horizon. Congress shows no signs of passing the Papago Rehabilitation Bill while spending heavily for cold and hot wars.

Even were the Papago Development Program translated into reality, a large residue of Papagos will remain unsupported by their tribal lands. They must seek labor outside their reserves.

> "Upon completion of the range improvements, further irrigation developments, and improvement of the flash flood farming areas, it is estimated that the reservation resources will support at a reasonable level of living, not to exceed 800 families. This leaves about 400 families, together with the increase in population, who must be permanently located off the reservation."[1]

464 166 [22] [361] About 150 Papago families are pointing the way for those who must relocate, working in the Ajo mine and in other Arizona cities.[2] Many families are already living permanently on farms where they work. This study indicates perhaps 200 Papagos already work on farms the year round. They represent approximately 200 families of approximately 800 persons, far more than this writer, at least, expected beforehand. More Desert People can find permanent farm employment if they can learn skilled farm labor. Their situation is far from hopeless.

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[1] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 10.

000 In Pinal county the average size of farms from which ethnic data was secured is only 8 acres larger than the average for all farms studied, suggesting they are reasonably representative. However, it appears embarrassingly probable that due to the smallness of the sample and the author's proclivity for finding Indian laborers, the sample was not random, and was weighted with too many Indians to be accurate.

ETHNIC DATA SAMPLE

County	Farms	Acres	Average A. per farm	Percent of county	Pickers	Average per farm	Average A. per picker	Percent pickers are of county average
Pima	22	3,461½	157.3	25.45%	678	30.9	5.1	23.68%
Pinal	27	10,405½	385.3	7.75	1,229	45.5	8.5	7.26%

With these warnings in mind, the reader may procede to the discussion of ethnic characteristics of the 1950 cotton picking force.

PIMA COUNTY

Mexican-Americans and *braceros* (citizens of Mexico working in the U. S.) could roll up a substantial plurality if a vote were taken on, say, relative popularity of foremen. About two-fifths of the Pima county picking force in 1950 spoke Spanish.[1] Another quarter of the hands in the county belonged to that group of people labeled by custom in this country as Negroes.[2] Another [464] [162] fifth of the Pima county laborers were Indians. The Papagos were the most numerous by far—1 picker out of each 5 to 6 in the county was Papago.[3] Reflecting the concentration of Yaquis at Pascua Village and Barrio Libre on the outskirts of Tucson, and at the old company labor camp at Marana, Indians other than Papagos made up about a fiftieth of the pickers in the county.[4]

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[1] Based on 678 hands of known ethnic origin of whom 290 or 42.8% were Spanish-speakers.

[2] Based on 678 hands; of whom 189 or 27.9% were Negroes.

[3] Based on 678 hands, of whom 121 or 18.9% were Papagos.

[4] Based on 678 hands, of whom 23 or 3.4% were non-Papago Indians.

000 All these groups are minorities within wider American society. They contributed about 9 of every 10 cotton pickers in Pima county in 1950. They added up to a clear numerical majority over Anglo-American harvesters, farmers, and businessmen in the rural farm areas—but the Anglos retained all their dominant social and economic position. Anglo harvesters were less than half as numerous as the smallest non-Anglo picking group in the county, the Indians.[1]

PINAL COUNTY

The ethnic picture in Pinal county looks quite different. There Anglos have a slight edge over Spanish-speaking cotton pickers, with each group making up just over three-fourths of the total labor force.[2] This meant that minority groups probably comprised a majority of the inhabitants of the Pinal farming areas during the 1950 harvest season, but their numerical dominance was not nearly so great as in Pima county.

Negroes were somewhat more than half as numerous as Anglos and Spanish-speakers in Pinal county.[3] Papago [464] [162] Indians were the least numerous ethnic group among Pinal county pickers. The tribe vied with Negroes according to data of this study,[4] but the smallness of the sample obtained and the great likelihood that it contained proportionately too many Papagos suggests the actual number of Papagos in the county is perhaps one-tenth of the whole picking force. Indians of other tribes were an almost negligible quantity in Pinal county, only about 1 picker out of 100 being a non-Papago Indian.[5]

PAPAGOS

464 125 Because of shortcomings of the sample from which the proportions of the four ethnic groups were derived, it would be well to have another basis for estimating the number of Papagos picking cotton in 1950. This can be done with other data gathered in this study.

It was possible to find out the number of Papagos employed on a good many farms where it was not possible to obtain an ethnic breakdown of the whole picking crew.

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[1] Based on 678 hands, of whom 55 or 8.1% were Anglos.
[2] Based on 1229 hands of known ethnic group, of whom 400 or 32.6% were Anglos; 383 or 31.2% were Spanish-speaking.
[3] Based on 1229 hands; of whom 217 or 17.7% were Negroes.
[4] Based on 1229 hands; of whom 211 or 17.2% were Papagos.
[5] Based on 1229 hands, of whom 18 or 1½% were Indians of tribes other than Papago.

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125 For this reason, 471 Papagos were found at work in the cotton fields. Some other farms were found to employ Papagos, but numbers could not be ascertained. At any rate, the 471 Desert People were 8.85% of all 5,319 pickers counted in this study. This may be accepted as a valid minimum proportion, since it does not include some farms where Papagos worked where the total number of pickers was obtained, but not the number of Papagos. A total of 536 Indians of all tribes were found on this same basis among 5,319 pickers counted in this study, or 10.1%. Correcting the propotion to allow for the unknown numbers of Papagos at work might mean 10% of the pickers actually were Desert People, with all Indians making up 12% or 13%.

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128 The validity of this guess may be checked. In Appendix I it was estimated Pima county hired 2,858 pickers, of which number 10% is 286 Papagos. The 121 Papagos in the ethnic sample in Pima county worked on 13 farms, which were 61.9% of Pima county farms hiring Desert People. If other farms hired proportionate numbers, 196 were hired on farms studied. These included 70% of the Pima county cotton planting, so all farms in the county planting cotton should have hired some 280 Papagos. This is within 6 of the 286 figure (10% of the estimated total of pickers) so the two estimates are very close, indicating accuracy.

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NUMBER OF PAPAGO COTTON PICKERS, 1950

		Papago pickers (8.85%)	Papagos Off-res. (x 2.3)	Papago pickers (10%)	Off-reserva.
Pickers needed per day to harvest Pinal-Pima county crop in 96 days	16,095	1,424	3,275	1,610	3,703
Average number of pickers hired per day, Oct.-Dec. (ASES data)	19,251	1,704	3,919	1,925	4,428
Average pickers hired per day Oct.-Dec. (Data of this study)	19,764	1,748	4,025	1,976	4,545
Peak number of pickers hired per day in any week. (ASES data)	22,140	1,959	4,496	2,214	5,092

On the basis of these figures it seems safe to say at least 1,700 Papagos picked cotton in 1950. And this meant some 2,750 Desert People lived in farm labor camps off their reservations. But the most likely estimate appears to be approximately 2,000 Papagos harvested cotton and about 4,500 in all lived in labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties in 1950.

[P.136 contains no textual material]

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans

Papago NU28

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REGION.—The territory covered by the Papagos in their migrations, and 133 in which their villages are located, consists of mountain ranges and the intervening valleys. The soil of the 134 valleys contains a considerable proportion of clay, so that it is all called adobe soil. In the mesas or plains occasional strips of sand occur. Along the arroyos, or dry water channels, deposits of gravel are numerous. The arroyos become raging torrents during the rainy season, rendering travel impossible or dangerous during the temporary flood. The soil of the foothills is very rocky. Alkali is present in the soil in varying proportions, giving the characteristic name to the vast stretch of country known as the alkali desert. It is not the presence of alkali, however, that makes the desert, but the absence of water. An abundant water supply renders this alkali soil equal in fertility to any soil in the country. As it is, the valleys contain a great deal of arable land, 137 which is evident from the great areas covered with grass, which form the stock ranges, and from occasional sections where weeds grow so luxuriantly after the rainy season as to overtop a man on horseback. Some portions of the valleys are covered with mesquite trees and bushes, and also sagebrush, but these sections produce abundant crops when irrigated.

CLIMATE.—The climate is very mild, being neither extremely cold in winter nor hot in summer. The mean 132 average temperature during the summer of 1889 was 81.3°, and during the winter of 1889-1890 it was 52.6°.

WATER SUPPLY.—There are occasional wells found among the Indian villages. Natural water holes are quite numerous, and by raising embankments of earth in favorable localities the Papagos make huge ponds or reservoirs, 312 which they call tanks. These natural and artificial reservoirs are only serviceable for the temporary storage of water, and toward the last they become filthy mudholes. The Indians, however, continue to use the water as long as it can possibly be considered a fluid. In one place the Papagos have dug a well 80 feet deep, and with incredible labor have made a footpath from the top of the ground to the level of the water.

Water is found by boring at a depth of from 200 to 800 feet, but no flowing wells have yet been obtained in the territory. The water in the wells rises from 30 to 150 feet, and then is raised to the surface by steam pumps. The Indians, however, have not the financial resources with which to sink or operate artesian wells. When their tanks are exhausted they remove with droves and herds to the valleys and canyons in the mountains, frequently crossing over into Mexico.

TIMBER.—The varieties of timber within the Papago range are the willow, cottonwood, mesquite, polleverda, 137 and on the southern and western mountain slopes the oak. The mesquite is the most common timber, as it grows freely on the mesas. It rivals the hickory as firewood, throwing out great heat, and the coals retain fire even longer than coals of hickory. The mesquite, however, is very easy to cut, and is handled with far less labor than hickory.

FRUITS AND NUTS.—The sahuaro (giant cactus), which grows on the rocky soil of the foothills and covers the 137 moderate mountain ranges, rises in height from 10 to 60 feet, and is a mass of vegetable matter, supported by an internal skeleton of ribs or poles of woody fiber. The fruit of this remarkable plant grows out of the top of the trunk and arms, and constitutes an important article of food, the Papagos almost living upon it during June, July, 222 and a part of August. They gather it with long poles, and eat it either fresh or after it has been dried. They make 262 from the juice a sirup and a drink which is slightly charged with alcohol. Although the ribs of the sahuaro are [273] very valuable, the Indians never destroy the plant, and are greatly incensed if a white man cuts one down; but when the cactus dies and the vegetable matter dries, powders, and falls away, leaving the ribs exposed and bare, [313] they are used as supports for the dirt roofs of adobe houses, for the sides of houses when plastered with mud, for poultry and pigeon houses, and other small structures.

The Papagos eat the fruit of the prickly pear cactus and make a sirup from its juice; from the mescal (sweet 262 aloe) a highly intoxicating drink is made. The root, which is bulbous, grows partly under and partly above the [273] ground, and when roasted it is very delicious, and great quantities are consumed by the Papagos. They dig out of the ground a vegetable which appears to be a species of wild onion, but they call it a groundnut, and relish it [388] highly when boiled. A very useful plant found in large quantities, called the soap plant (amole), forms a substitute for soap.

The tannin root, resembling the sweet potato in appearance, grows in great profusion. It contains a large 282 portion of tannic acid, and is a substitute for the astringent barks, hemlock and oak, which are used in tanneries.

FOOD.—In addition to the fruits, nuts, and flesh already mentioned, their food consists of wheat flour (usually 262 formed by the women on a metate) prepared in simple ways, parched wheat and corn, boiled wheat and corn, flour 252 made from the mesquite bean, beans, boiled squash, green and dried squash seeds, beef, and poultry.

INDUSTRY.—The Papagos seem to be esteemed by the whites in general as the best Indians in the territory. 181 They are industrious, and are good help in mines, on ranches, in the harvest field, and on stock ranges. They [464] easily learn the mechanical arts, and set and handle mining drills as well as white men. The engineer at the Quijotoa mines said that his assistant was a Papago, and that he was fully competent to run the engine.

[312] In practical irrigation the Indians are conceded to be the superiors of the whites, and in their domain this is the foundation of agricultural skill. When properly educated there can be no doubt of their ability to acquire the scientific principles of the art.